

**EMOTIONAL LABOR AND CONFLICT IN SCHOOLS:
TEACHER PERCEPTIONS OF THE EMOTIONAL DISPLAY RULES NECESSARY
FOR NEGATIVE TEACHER - STUDENT INTERACTIONS**

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Teaching requires emotional work. Some days teachers experience positive emotions (joy, pride, hope) in conjunction with students learning new concepts or forming new relationships. Other days teachers experience negative emotions (frustration, annoyance, anger) in response to negative conflict between themselves and their students. The ability to interact with students, navigate emotions and appropriately express or suppress them can be challenging for educators. The *emotional labor* completed to express or suppress emotions based on job standards and norms (display rules) is explicitly studied in most service industries, but continues to be understudied in education. This paper provides a descriptive analysis of the emotional labor and emotional displays teachers experience during one specific portion of their workday, negative interactions with students. The study also describes teacher perceptions of and the training received for the emotional display rules (EDRs) necessary for such interactions.

Study participants included 26 teachers and teaching assistants from one Mid-Atlantic charter school. The educators completed a short demographic survey and a 45-minute in-person interview. Interviews included 15 open-ended questions detailing the descriptions of negative

teacher-student interactions, subsequent emotional responses and any relevant training received during pre-service, professional development sessions or through personal research.

A review of the findings uncovered patterns in interactions, emotional displays and forms of training. Findings reveal that teachers experience emotional labor during negative teacher-student interactions in the absence of explicit display rules and training. Revealed sources of negative emotions for educators include: the interactions with students and the apparent lack of display rules and necessary emotion training. Teachers emphasized the need for training and explicit display rules.

Although there is a wealth of literature on emotional labor, it continues to be an area under studied in education. This paper adds to the current body of literature and includes implications and recommendations for practice and future research in the area of explicit display rules for educators. We must continue to research and define EDRs for educators and provide them with the appropriate pre-service training and professional development in order to help them successfully navigate the challenging emotional labor they experience daily.

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PREFACE

The dissertation process has been challenging, but ultimately, I feel I have grown both as an individual and as a professional throughout the process. Learning about teachers and their struggles with emotions helped inform my professional growth as a school leader and allowed me the opportunity to connect with my personal emotions resulting in personal growth. The completion of this work and dissertation could not have been possible without the generous support of both my personal and professional connections.

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not, you brought me snacks when I could not get away from my desk and you supported me every day. Your love and encouragement throughout this process allowed me to grow into the person and professional I am, for that I am eternally grateful.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Teachers and students experience the effect of emotions daily. Emotions focus attention on, or distract attention away from stimuli (Vogt & De Houwer, 2014). Emotional experiences facilitate or impeded an individual's performance on tasks, personal judgment, physical or mental health (Holbrook, Galperin, Fessler, Johnson, Bryant, Haselton, 2014; Padmala & Pessoa, 2014; Quinn, Rollock, & Vrana, 2014). Teachers balance job responsibilities with emotional experiences during *emotional labor*, or the act of suppressing or expressing emotions during daily work life (Hochschild, 1983/2012). Emotional labor is an essential component of a teacher's job, but rarely is the focus of educational research. Despite the lack of research, teachers experience emotional labor daily, managing emotions during many required tasks. Further research is necessary to understand which emotions teachers choose to display at work, how they choose those emotions and what training they receive on emotional labor.

Classroom experiences and interactions cover a wide range of emotions. One specific interaction, conflict, often leads to a heightened sense of emotions. Conflict can either be productive, as in a student to student debate, or can be disruptive, as in the case of negative interactions between teachers and students. Prevention and strong classroom management techniques can mitigate some aggressive behaviors, such as, yelling, fighting or even bullying, however, they are still a common occurrence in schools. Alvarez (2007) asserts, "aggressive behavior in schools remains a significant problem for both educators and the community as a

whole” (p. 1113). The management of both student behavior and teacher emotional responses during negative interactions is one problem schools face today. Resources and trainings can help a teacher explain, interpret and analyze classroom management techniques, but inadequately connects emotions to management implementation.

Further research can help to identify and describe themes or patterns further illustrating how teachers experience emotional labor, regulate their emotions and create positive experiences for students. This study used qualitative interview techniques to investigate the reported experiences of teachers during contentious situations in order to further the current research on emotional labor in education.

The first step in the process of studying the emotional labor experienced by teachers in contentious situations is to review the current literature. Adequate research on this specific topic is lacking, so the literature reviewed attempted to be a cross section of relevant disciplines and subject matter. Subsequently, the literature reviewed fell into three categories: emotional labor, emotions in education and classroom management. To frame the literature review and inform the given study, three questions were developed.

Question 1: What is the definition of emotional labor as defined by the research?

Question 2: What does the literature say about emotional labor and the necessary emotional display rules as they relate to education and teaching?

Question 3: How are teacher emotions related to student behaviors in the classroom?

The findings from the literature review and review of relevant qualitative inquiry and design strategies led to the formation of the research design and questions. This study describes the perspectives, experiences and relevant processes educators encountered during negative interactions with students in the classroom. The apparent gaps in the literature occurring in the

cross section of the fields of education, classroom management and emotional labor allowed for the formation of the research questions.

Question 1: How do educators describe the emotional labor they experience during negative teacher-student interactions?

Question 2: Are there emotional display rules educators report they follow during negative teacher-student interactions? What are those rules?

Question 3: What training do educators report they receive on the use of emotional display rules during negative teacher-student interactions?

The setting of the study included one charter school in Pennsylvania. The school, split between two buildings, services students in kindergarten through eighth grade. The range of grade levels, departmentalization of teachers and confirmed experiences of conflict led to the selection of this particular setting. Positioning myself within the study and setting, I note that I have a professional relationship with the chosen school site. This position allowed for known experiences of conflict to guide site selection, however, also must be noted to minimize the impact on reliability of findings. Twenty-six teachers and teaching assistants in the research setting offered their experiences and perspectives during the interviews. Utilizing interpretive description techniques, analysis of the educators' experiences and perspectives offered during the interviews uncovered trends based on the three research questions. In regards to emotional labor, educators described managing their emotions during negative teacher-student interactions as difficult work. The educators also described the emotional experiences and sources of emotions during that work as frustrating and most often connected to student disrespect or disobedience. The educators described a wide variety of body language and tone of voice used during their negative interactions with students indicating a lack of explicit display rules for this specific type

of student interaction. Educators also indicated a lack of direct training on emotional labor with other topics taking precedence in both pre-service and professional development training sessions. Conclusions based on the findings uncovered potential studies and future needs in the area of emotional labor in education. Ultimately, this study adds to the current body of literature on emotional labor in education; closing the gap between classroom management and emotional labor research.

2.0 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Employees in sales and service industries must ensure customers have enjoyable experiences leading to purchases, and ultimately repeat business. The ambience of the store, the variety of products and the overall demeanor of the employees form the basis for a customer's experience. Businesses often ask sales associates to deliver customer service with a smile, or greet patrons with a welcoming attitude upon entering the store. Ultimately, customer satisfaction leads to repeat customers and increased revenue for the company (Terpstra, Kuijlen, & Sijtsma, 2012). The emotions employees display to customers during daily interactions may not reveal true feelings. Instead, employees might mimic or mask unexpected or inappropriate actual feelings forcing them to experience emotional labor. Hochschild (1983/2012) defines emotional labor as the work performed when an employee is asked to "induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (p. 7). Employees must perform this emotional work alongside the other tasks and demands written in their job descriptions. According to Steinberg and Figart (1999), "to perform emotional labor, and in contrast with mental and physical work, employees must give something of themselves to others with whom they have no ongoing personal, non-instrumental relationship" (p. 12). Working this way requires emotional work that is not part of a job description, but is just as much of a requirement for successful employment.

Prior research defined emotional labor, identifying requirements for specific jobs and explained the effects of experiencing emotional labor at work. Judge, Woolf and Hurst (2009) claim, “emotional labor is a dynamic process, wherein the use and consequences of emotional labor vary between individuals and within-individuals” (p. 78). Varied experiences led to extensive research and multiple perspectives. The one caveat, however, is that the preponderance of historical research is focused on service jobs in the business arena. Emotional Labor in education informs some research but continues to be an area of growth. Teachers provide a service to children each day, developing their minds and expanding their knowledge of the world. Much like a business, schools serve different customers or stakeholders, including students, parents, and community members. Employers (school districts) also task teachers with the job of providing a quality education for one stakeholder (students) while maintaining a nurturing classroom climate. Creating an encouraging climate and building positive relationships with stakeholders requires emotional labor. Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006), state that the emotional labor of teaching involves, “taking the time to listen to students’ problems or worries, giving advice or guidance to them, and showing warmth and love” (p. 123). A teacher, like a customer service representative, may need to regulate or even mask emotions in order to perform tasks, thus experiencing emotional labor.

Performing emotional labor to create a positive learning environment is critical to student success. Hinton, Miyamoto and Della-Chiesa (2008) assert, “learning is likely to be more effective if educators help to minimize stress and fear at school, teach students emotional regulation strategies, and provide a positive learning environment that is motivating to students” (p. 90). In order to provide a positive learning environment, teachers perform emotional labor to

ensure emotions shown are positive. Maag (2008) asserts “once teachers overreact emotionally, they are more likely to respond ineffectively and even make the situation worse” (p. 52).

Teachers and researchers should investigate how to create positive environments under the many different circumstances arising in schools. Current research into the emotional labor of teaching encompasses the effects of emotional labor on teachers, such as burnout, and the specific strategies used by teachers to complete the emotional work of teaching. Research also examines classroom management techniques and how to create positive classroom environments. Missing, is the link between emotional labor and effective classroom management strategies. Accordingly, this literature review attempts to examine the relationship through the following three questions:

Question 1: What is the definition of emotional labor as defined by the research?

Question 2: What does the literature say about emotional labor and the necessary emotional display rules as they relate to education and teaching?

Question 3: How are teacher emotions related to student behaviors in the classroom?

2.1 WHAT IS THE DEFINITION OF EMOTIONAL LABOR AS DEFINED BY THE RESEARCH?

In 1983, researcher Arlie Russell Hochschild developed the term emotional labor while observing a flight attendant training session. She watched training sessions and listened for explicit directions pertaining to the management of personal emotions during routine service and in times of crisis and stress. During the sessions, the connection between customer satisfaction and the emotions expressed by the employee during a flight were clearly defined. She theorized

that the emotional expressions of flight attendants must have value for the company. Emotions were part of being a successful employee as detailed in their training. In fact, Hochschild (1983/2012), went on to assert, “the emotional style of offering the service is part of the service itself” (p. 5). The term emotional labor is not specific to the airline industry. Many service-oriented jobs require employees to perform emotional labor. Jobs involving emotional labor share three qualities; person-to-person contact (verbal or face-to-face) between the employee and the customer, the employee’s work produces emotions in the customer and the employer provides training or rules for the expression of employee emotions (Hochschild, 1983/2012). Examples of jobs with all three characteristics include: bank tellers, sales associates, nurses, hotel employees and teachers. The list continues to grow with additional researchers observing and documenting other service roles.

Since Hochschild’s seminal work, the definition of the labor of expressing or repressing one’s emotions in order to perform work-related tasks (emotional labor) has undergone revisions. Researchers utilized Hochschild’s work and developed or refined definitions (as seen in Table 1), by studying the intricacies of performing emotional labor.

Table 1 *Historical Definitions of Emotional Labor*

Scholar(s)	Year of Publication	Definition of Emotional Labor	Reference Page
Hochschild	1983/2012	"The management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display"	p. 7
Ashforth & Humphrey	1993	"The act of displaying the appropriate emotion"	p. 90
Morris & Feldman	1996	"The effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions"	p. 987
Grandey	2000	"The process of regulating both feelings and expressions for the organizational goals"	p. 97
Kruml & Geddes	2000	"What employees perform when they are required to feel, or at least project the appearance of, certain emotions as they engage in job-relevant interactions"	p. 9
Glomb & Tews	2004	"The (1) expression of emotions and (2) non-expression of emotion, which may or may not be felt, in accordance with display rules"	p. 4
Gosserand & Diefendorff	2005	"The process of regulating one's emotional displays in response to display rules so that work goals can be achieved"	p. 1256
Grama & Botone	2009	"Emotional labor is nothing but motivated, voluntary behavior, expressed by the employees of an institution, in their desire to reconcile their emotions, feelings, following the installation of emotional dissonance"	p. 318

The definitions range from Ashforth and Humphrey's general description to others including details such as rules of emotional labor and motivations behind emotion work. Shuler and Sypher (2000) summarize emotional labor and the interactions shaping emotional states as a "fundamentally communicative accomplishment" (p. 51). The given definitions grew out of

research completed on a generally narrow sample of specific service industries covering customer interactions and emotional labor effects. The definitions have one thing in common; emotional work in service jobs takes effort to complete.

Emotional labor not only affects the employee, but also affects the customer. Hochschild (1983/2012) originally linked emotion work and customer satisfaction as a requirement of emotional labor. Customer emotional states drive overall satisfaction with the service or product. Positive customer experiences lead to further purchases or repeated services while overall negative interactions leads to poor reviews and decreased revenue (Ashforth & Humphrey 1993; Wharton, 2009). Steinberg and Figart (1999), also claim emotional labor “creates value, affects productivity, and generates profit” (p. 9). The outcomes of emotional labor are an important aspect of the definition and research although Hochschild (1979) defends “that ‘emotion work’ refers to the effort-the act of trying-and not to the outcome” (p. 561).

Emotional labor impacts both clients and employees. Grandey, Diefendorff and Rupp (2013) describe how “employees’ emotion regulation efforts influence their well-being, which subsequently affects their job performance, and thus, ultimately customer outcomes” (p. 135). The variety of ways emotional labor is performed results in different outcomes. According to Hochschild (1983/2012), the ultimate response includes producing a “state of mind in others” (Hochschild, 1983/2012, p. 7). Researchers after Hochschild described emotional labor outcomes not tied to company revenue including: employee emotional states, job satisfaction, employee retention and burnout rates. Understanding the outcomes of emotional labor without further description of the work completed is difficult. Seery and Corrigan (2009) studied the different aspects of emotional labor and found different outcomes associated with each aspect. For instance, “surface acting was related to negative outcomes for workers; lower job satisfaction

and affective commitment as well as higher intentions to quit and emotional exhaustion” (Seery & Corrigan, 2009, p. 808). Due to the intricacies of the work necessary to practice emotional labor, further clarification of key aspects is necessary.

2.1.1 Key Terms

Since Hochschild coined the term, researchers and theorists further clarified the work completed, outcomes and the landscape of emotional labor (Table 2). For instance, Hochschild clarifies the difference between emotional labor and emotion work. She states that emotion work is a private act while emotional labor is a public display of positive or negative emotions resulting in some form of value (1983/2012). Some authors interchange the two words, however, Hochschild wants to ensure we understand the value of emotional labor. The work done managing emotions for a family member or for private reasons can be important, but has a different outcome from emotional labor and is not associated with a monetary value. The emotional labor completed at work can increase the value of the service performed or product sold.

Table 2 *Definitions of Key Terms*

Term	Definition	Source
Display Rules/Norms	The “standards” given to employees for the expression of appropriate emotions	Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005, p. 1256
Deep Acting	Occurs when the employee “tries to invoke the actual displayed feelings or emotions”	Steinberg & Figart, 1999, p. 11
Surface Acting	Occurs when “the employee feigns emotion, so that the displayed emotion differs from what the employee actually feels”	Steinberg & Figart, 1999, p. 11
Emotion Work	The management of feelings done in private. Can be a synonym for emotional labor however, Hochschild asserts emotional labor is done publicly and has “exchange value”	Hochschild, 1983/2012, p. 7
Emotion Regulation	“How we try to influence which emotions we have, when we have them, and how we experience and express these emotions”	Gross, 2008, p. 497
Emotional Harmony	“When feelings and displays match role expectations”	Grandey et al., 2013, p. 11
Emotional Dissonance	When feelings and expected displays do not match	Grandey et al., 2013, p. 11
Emotional Geographies	Explains how “emotions are embedded in the conditions and interactions of their work”	Hargreaves, 2001, p. 1058

Companies offer training sessions and/or handbooks for employees to help guide their work. In the sessions and manuals, employers set expectations for everything from dress code and grooming to how to interact with customers. The goal is to create a positive customer experience leading to repeat patronage and increased revenue (Terpstra et al., 2012). The explicit or implicit descriptions of which positive or negative emotions to express or suppress are defined as emotional display rules (EDR) (Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005). The EDRs are emotional norms created for different types of work-related situations (Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005). For example, a hotel clerk, flight attendant or 911 dispatcher must provide service with a

smile and project a calm demeanor even in times of stress and crisis (Hochschild 1983/2012; Shuler & Sypher, 2000).

Understanding EDRs, or emotional norms for specific roles is not enough. An employee must follow the rules in order to display the appropriate positive or negative emotions. To follow EDRs, an individual performs either surface or deep acting (Steinberg & Figart, 1999). In surface acting, the employee expresses the expected emotion, but does not genuinely feel the emotion (Steinberg & Figart, 1999). A flight attendant for example, may appear calm but is really anxious during an emergency landing or an insurance salesman could sound happy even if he/she is sad while reading a phone script to a potential client. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), further describe surface acting as “impression management” (p. 93). One way an employee can try to make a positive impression on a client without feeling positively is through scripts or rote acting. Unlike surface acting, during deep acting, the employee both expresses and experiences the appropriate emotion (Steinberg & Figart, 1999). In order to accomplish deep acting, the employee’s feelings are “actively induced, suppressed, or shaped” (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 93). Trying to remember a happier time, reciting a positive phrase over and over, or visualizing a favorite place are some of the ways employees participate in deep acting. The ultimate goal is to genuinely feel the emotion asked to display to a customer.

As a result of both deep and surface acting, an employee experiences either emotional harmony or dissonance. The achievement of emotional harmony occurs when inner feelings match expressed and expected emotions (Grandey et al., 2013). Emotional harmony is most often reached through deep acting, where felt emotions match expressed emotions. For example, a recently married dress shop saleswoman, might experience emotional harmony while providing service with a smile to a newly engaged customer. She might genuinely be happy to hear about

the customers wedding preparations. Conversely, emotional dissonance occurs when the expressed emotion does not match an employee's inner feelings (Grandey et al., 2013). Emotional dissonance might occur when a financially stressed bank teller is still smiling and acting happy to hear about a repeat customer's business venture.

Within the workday an individual can experience emotional labor, the subsequent expression of emotions through surface or deep acting, emotional harmony and dissonance. Each job that requires emotional labor has a specific emotional geography, or conditions for completing emotion work (Hargreaves, 2001, p. 1058). Employees navigating these conditions on a daily basis tend to have affective tendencies, or "predispositions towards certain ways of emoting" (Schutz & Zembylas, 2009, p. 196). The work completed, affective tendencies and the conditions in which employees complete emotion work all impact their core affect. According to Schutz and Zembylas (2009), core affect is "the way one feels at any one particular time" (p. 200). When you try to change the way you feel or your core affect in order to perform a job-related task, you experience emotional labor.

2.1.2 Emotional Labor or Emotion Regulation?

In some articles, authors use emotional labor and emotion regulation, to discuss the work of managing one's emotions at work. According to the literature, the terms have different connotations. In order to determine whether to classify emotion work as emotional labor or emotion regulation it is important to understand if the work is an end result or a process to achieve the end result. As previously defined, Hochschild (1983/2012), described emotional labor as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (p. 7). Accomplishing this end result includes managing or regulating emotions. According to Gross

(2008), emotion regulation “refers to the process by which we influence which emotions we have, when we have them, and how we experience and express these emotions” (p. 500).

The process of regulating emotions includes the use of a variety of specific strategies. Rather than creating a list, Gross (2008) developed a conceptual sequence that describes the process of emotion regulation from the time a situation occurs, through attention, appraisal and ultimately emotional response (p.7). The conceptual framework includes five specific points during an interaction through which individuals can regulate emotions. At each point in the framework, an individual experiences an emotion and acts to alter the response meeting the expected outcome (as seen in Figure 1). In situation selection and modification, the individual either chooses specific situations based on expected emotional outcomes, or seeks to change or modify the physical surroundings in a way that is favorable for their emotional expectations. During attention deployment, the individual completes the same tasks as the situation experiences, but does so internally. For example, in a stressful situation utilizing distraction techniques such as thinking of a favorite item or location can elicit happy or peaceful thoughts. During cognitive change, in order to experience more positive emotions, thoughts about a situation or demand are purposefully changed. Finally, in response modification, the individual searches for ways to influence the physiological responses to certain emotions. For example, to deal with stress and produce calm emotions, individuals utilize deep breathing or yoga techniques (Gross, 2014).

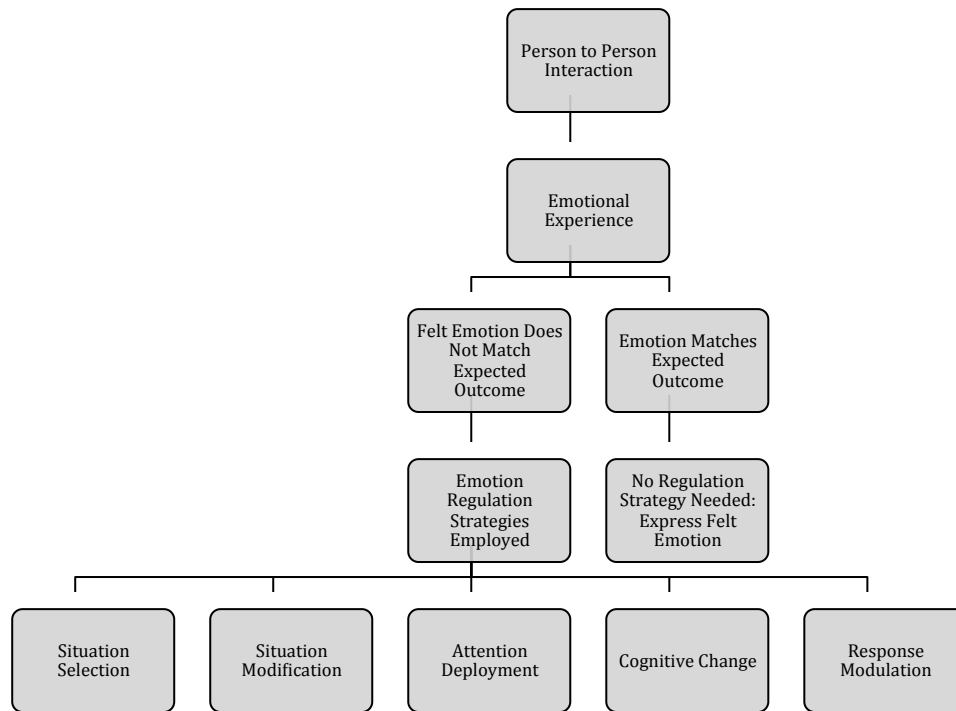


Figure 1. A model of the process of emotion regulation strategies used during person-person interactions.

Adapted with permission from Gross, J.J. (2014) Emotion regulation: Conceptual and empirical foundations. In J.J. Gross (Ed.), *Handbook of Emotion Regulation* (2nd ed.) (pp. 3-22). New York, NY: The Guildford Press

Each time an individual needs to perform emotional labor (either deep or surface acting) all of these options for emotion regulation are available to them. The conscious choice to perform one over the other is an individual one, but the necessity to regulate emotions may come from an employer. Thus, emotional labor is used to describe the overall work performed expressing or repressing emotions and emotion regulation describes the process of completing the work (Gross, 2008; Hochschild, 1983/2012). Authors sometimes use the words interchangeably even though they represent two different functions in the research on emotional

labor. Future authors and researchers need to understand the difference between the terms and ensure they are using both to express the appropriate functions of this field of work.

2.1.3 Emotional Labor Theory and Research

Since 1980, emotional labor and its nuisances have been the focus of research in many service-oriented fields (see Table 3 for a sampling of research). Since the definition of emotional labor is clear, researchers are going further to expound upon details and determine specific effects different aspects of emotional labor has on employees. Studies range from the development of scales or tools used to quantify emotional labor to the types of outcomes experienced by employees.

Glomb and Tews (2004) set out to construct a conceptually grounded tool to quantify emotional labor. They felt that prior to their work, no clear tool existed to quantify and study emotional labor. They utilized questionnaires and surveys of a variety of service-oriented jobs and graduated students to create and validate the Discrete Emotional Labor Scale (DEELS) (Glomb & Tews, 2004). One determined benefit of the tool was the ability to quantify 14 different emotions using six factors (Glomb & Tews, 2004). During the study, not only did Glomb and Tews validate the tool, but they also surveyed and compared different types of service jobs. According to their findings, one outcome was “display rules for hiding negative emotions did not differ across occupations; suppression of negative emotions may be a universal expectation across occupations” (Glomb & Tews, 2004, p. 16). Their findings are important to the field, however, the sample did not include a wide range of service-oriented jobs; so further study to test this comparison is necessary.

Another research pair, Gosserand and Diefendorff completed a study specifically on EDRs and the necessary conditions for EDRs to affect work behavior. Unlike Glomb and Tews' study, they surveyed 318 employees from a larger variety of service roles. These roles not only included sales, but clerical staff, educators, technical roles and even managers (Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005). They were trying to determine if there was a relationship between an employee's commitment to the EDRs and work behaviors. Gosserand and Diefendorff ultimately found a positive relationship to work behaviors with high commitment to EDRs and a weak relationship when commitments were low (2005). Their work indicates that individuals need to believe in the explicit EDRs or at least want to follow them for their work behaviors to align with the norms and expectations of the employer. These findings also suggest a need for more explicit training on necessary EDRs. In order for an employee to become committed to an EDR, they must know and understand how to perform the specific rule.

Once an employee knows the EDRs for their job, they must complete surface or deep acting in order to display the appropriate emotions (Hochschild, 1983/2012). Judge et al. (2009) studied customer service employees through online daily diary entries in order to determine how surface and deep acting effect job satisfaction and emotional exhaustion. Their findings indicate "individuals in our sample differed from one another in their tendency to engage in emotional labor and in the effects of emotional labor on them" (p. 78). Even with this variability, they generally found an association between surface acting and negative outcomes such as: emotional exhaustion, negative mood and decreased job satisfaction (Judge et al., 2009). Due to the variability of individuals studied, their analysis did not find a consistent link between deep acting and any particular outcome (Judge et al., 2009). They assert that further studies should examine how an individual's mood and disposition affect the outcomes of emotional labor (Judge et al.,

2009). One possibility is that the outcomes of emotional labor may be associated with individual differences in perception and associations with situations and emotions (Judge et al., 2009).

Studies in emotional labor like the work by Gosserand and Diefendorff and Judge et al., tend to either try to sample a wide variety of service roles or focus on one specific job at a time. An example of a role-specific study is the work of Shuler and Sypher (2000). Their study intended to define emotional labor expectations and determine the positive role of emotional labor experienced by 911 dispatchers. Their case study resulted in a description of the positive outcomes of emotional labor and how emotional labor can help form an organizational community (Shuler & Sypher, 2000). Case studies such as this one, allow for an in-depth look into specific roles, but are very limited in scope and application. Further research is necessary to completely understand if findings are universal for all 911 dispatchers or specific to the location studied.

Case studies of one specific service job made up only one portion of the literature found. A majority of the empirical literature included surveys or questionnaires to study a wide sampling of service oriented jobs. In general, the findings tend to support the theoretical perspectives (Hochschild's and others) that there are a variety of positive and negative outcomes of emotional labor and that positive outcomes come from genuine emotions while negative outcomes stem from surface acting where emotions expressed do not mimic felt emotions (Seery & Corrigan, 2009). One of the noticeable gaps in the literature is the lack of research into the different occupations in the field of education. In this literature review, the research mimics the sample used in Gosserand and Diefendorff (2005) where only 12.3% of the sample were educators (p. 1259). Equal representation of all service industries in research is necessary to determine the extent emotional labor impacts the employee.

Table 3 *Sampling of the Research Studies in the Field of Emotional Labor*

Author	Date	Measure/Methods	Sample/Participants	Research Aims/ Questions	Key Findings/ Notes
Kruml & Geddes	2000	70-minute semi-structured interviews were conducted and literature was reviewed to create a 5-point Likert scale survey distributed to participants	Phase 1: 358 surveys were returned from a sample of 539 people from 8 companies (varying in size and location) Phase 2: 427 participants from 657 surveys from 11 companies of various demographics responded	This study aimed to identify emotional labor dimensions and determine a measurement scale for those dimensions	They found 2 dimensions of emotional labor: emotive effort and emotive dissonance (p.22)
Shuler & Sypher	2000	Social Constructionist case study methods were used	17, 911 dispatchers ranging in experience from a few weeks to more than 30 years. 11 were female and 6 were male.	“1. What are the emotional labor expectations for 911 dispatchers? 2. What are the positive functions of emotional labor for 911 dispatchers?” (p.57)	The study described the positive functions of emotional labor and the role of emotional labor in forming an organizational community
Glomb & Tews	2004	Questionnaires used to obtain scale data Surveys were done during class time for the student sample and were mailed to the hotel, managed care and police samples (p.10)	Samples included: 1. Graduate Students 2. Hotel Employees 3. Managed Healthcare employees 4. Assisted Living Group Home Employees 5. Metropolitan Police Force Employees	The development of the Discrete Emotions Emotional Labor Scale (DEELS) and the validation of this tool	By comparing across the different employee groups, support was found for the DEELS and its 6-factor model of emotional labor
Gosserand & Diefendorff	2005	Survey consisting of a seven-item scale focused on the perceptions of EDRs and the norms for the appropriate display	318 full-time employees from people-oriented occupations and 1 supervisor of each employee: 1.Service and Sales (36.2%) 2.Professional, technical and management (21.1%) 3.Clerical (19.8%) 4.Education (12.3%) 5.Health Care (10.1%) 6.Other (0.3%) (p.1259)	Is commitment to EDRs a necessary condition for EDRs to affect behavior at work?	Strong, positive relationships exist with high commitment to EDRs and weak relationships with low commitment to EDRs (p.1256)
Judge et al.	2009	An experience-sampling daily diary design was used. Participants completed a daily online survey as close to the end of their workday as possible that measured: 1.Emotional Exhaustion 2.Job Satisfaction 3.Positive and Negative Affect 4.Deep and Surface Acting 5.General or Trait Positive and Negative Affect 6.Extraversion (p.67)	127 customer service employees in 25 different states that worked an average of 38 hours per week and had an average of 7.1 years of experience in their field and 3.7 years in their current organization. The sample was 63% Caucasian and 55.6% female (p.66)	6 Hypotheses were tested in order to test a conceptual model of how deep and surface acting effects job satisfaction and emotional exhaustion	Emotional labor is an active process and its use and results vary from person to person.
Seery & Corrigan	2009	A cross-sectional survey was used to study the sample	363 nurses' aides and childcare workers	This study explored the links between surface acting and emotional enhancement to job satisfaction, affective commitment, emotional exhaustion and intentions to quit (p.798)	Surface acting is related to negative outcomes and emotional enhancement is related to positive outcomes

2.1.4 Summary and Implications for Education

The selection of literature reviewed illustrated the definition of emotional labor and specific key terms used to further describe emotional labor in the service industry. Emotional labor is the work completed by an employee to express or suppress emotions according to set EDRs or norms (Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Employees need to know the specific EDRs associated with their jobs in order to display the appropriate emotions. They should know when their employer expects them to act excited or happy and when to appropriately display negative emotions toward customers. Research indicates employee emotional displays impact a company's repeat revenue stream (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Steinberg & Figart 1999; Wharton, 2009). Appropriate emotional displays increase revenue while inappropriate displays decrease customer satisfaction and revenue (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Steinberg & Figart 1999; Wharton, 2009).

A change in the revenue stream for a company is just one of the possible outcomes of emotional labor evident in the literature. Emotional labor can also impact job performance, emotional outcomes and overall job satisfaction. Performing emotional labor is difficult work and without an understanding of the process or with participating in too much surface acting, an employee may even experience emotional exhaustion. In order to gain a better understanding of the outcomes of emotional labor, researchers have developed measurement scales and conduct surveys to screen a variety of occupations and individuals.

According to the literature, researchers found that the employees in service-oriented occupations typically experience emotional labor (Hochschild 1983/2012; Humphrey, Pollack, & Hawver, 2008; Kruml & Geddes, 2000). Until recently, studies of emotional labor included only jobs in for-profit industries (flight attendants, bank tellers, retail associates, etc.). Some

researchers went further, stating that all service related jobs experience emotional labor regardless of the ability to experience a monetary gain from the work completed. The additional service roles mentioned in the literature were: nurses, 911 dispatchers and teachers. Most teachers, nurses and dispatchers, do not work in a for-profit industry, but aspects of emotional labor such as customers (students, parents, etc.) and the expected emotional work is still present. Further research is necessary to illuminate the similarities and differences in the emotional labor experienced between for-profit and other service-oriented occupations.

2.2 WHAT DOES THE LITERATURE SAY ABOUT EMOTIONAL LABOR AND THE NECESSARY EMOTIONAL DISPLAY RULES AS THEY RELATE TO EDUCATION AND TEACHING?

Schools are emotional places, where teachers, students, parents and administrators interact and react with each other. Palmer (1998) explains, “teaching is always done at the dangerous intersection of personal and public life” (p. 17). The emotional climate of a school is determined through these numerous interactions, creating either a positive or negative learning environment. If too many negative emotional interactions exist, students’ academic outcomes may be negatively impacted (Hinton et al., 2008). On the other hand, according to Adu-Febiri (2011), “if students are emotionally connected in a positive way to the teacher, other students and the course material and the issues it represents, they learn better” (p. 67). Creating positive connections, and an overall positive climate in a school, requires emotional labor on the part of the teachers and leaders in schools (Schutz & Zembylas, 2009). A tired or frustrated teacher may not show these emotions when they perceive a lack of effort or success of a class, but instead

may continue to express positive, enthusiastic emotions to keep the students motivated and focused on improvement. Conversely, a teacher overly excited by one student achieving a difficult learning or social goal may express more tempered emotions in front of the entire class in order to not single out the student and make future goal attainment difficult. Suppressing personal feelings in order to express the appropriate emotions for students takes work. For this reason, teacher trainers, educators and educational leaders should stay current with new research on emotional labor in schools.

2.2.1 Emotions and Emotional Labor in Schools

Understanding the power of emotions and the emotional connections that exist in a classroom is essential. For example, teachers and students connect and react emotionally to each other and to the content taught. Therefore, teachers are educating young academic minds and developing the emotional intelligence of their students. Hargreaves (1998) explains:

Teachers' classroom commitments also encompass their emotional relationships with and connections to students; their desire to care for students; to develop them as tolerant and respectful citizens and not merely high performing learners and future workers; to develop their students' social skills as well as their academic knowledge. (p. 845)

Teachers develop lesson plans, curriculum and content, but must be cognizant of the way their emotions impact students. Hinton et al. (2008) reviewed findings from the Learning Science and Brain Research Project and made the claim, "positive emotions drive learning" (p. 92). Teachers focusing on creating positive emotional educational experiences have a positive academic impact on students (Hinton et al., 2008). Conversely, teachers that do not focus on the emotional aspect of teaching or create negative emotional experiences for students undermine the quality of daily

instruction (Hargreaves, 2000). Using Hinton et al.'s findings, teachers should create positive, nurturing classrooms despite not feeling positive, thus experiencing emotional labor.

The emotional labor teacher's experience is similar to the emotional labor experienced by other service employees. Teachers must identify EDRs and norms to follow when expressing emotions during daily job responsibilities. Both surface and deep acting are also required throughout daily routines. For example, a teacher may feel extreme sadness over the loss of a family member, but must express excitement and joy when a student experiences success after a long struggle. Other instances of emotional labor occur when teachers experience conflict with other teachers or when trying to suppress negative emotions after a perceived failure (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). Similar to other service roles in for-profit industries, teachers also complete emotional labor to increase outcomes. Instead of performing emotional labor for an increase in revenue however, teachers work to increase student achievement.

Displaying the appropriate emotions in the classroom and performing emotional labor impacts teachers in similar ways to employees in other service roles. There are both positive and negative impacts of emotional labor on teachers. The negative impacts require specific attention as they are one of the causes of teacher burnout and emotional exhaustion (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Mackenzie, 2012; Schutz & Lee, 2014; Schutz & Zembylas, 2009). Specifically, Mackenzie (2012) states, "hiding difficult emotions is the most challenging aspect of the job and this emotional dissonance appears to take the most emotional toll" (p. 1075). Difficult emotions can stem from interactions with students or can come from private or personal experiences not easily shared with students. Emotional labor is exhausting and can distract a teacher from daily instruction (O'Connor, 2008). The distraction comes from the amount of energy necessary to manage or regulate displayed emotions. Emotional labor takes a great deal

of energy requiring “a great deal of awareness, understanding and regulation to develop and maintain supportive relationships with students” (Schutz & Zembylas, 2009, p. 95).

Conversely, Zembylas (2004a) highlights the positive effects of emotional labor, stating “emotional labor can produce favorable results, including increased satisfaction, self-esteem, and psychological well-being” (p. 317). When a teacher expresses the appropriate emotion and students react positively, the teacher feels satisfied and positive about their ability to teach. Self-esteem also increases when a teacher’s ability to display appropriate emotions favorably impacts academic goals (Zembylas, 2004a). Ultimately, the goal for teachers should be to find the balance between being emotionally engaged with students and navigating the professional and emotional demands of teaching (O’Connor, 2008). Both teachers and students feel successful when there is a balance between the emotional demands of the job and the accomplishment of daily work routines.

Teachers and researchers need to understand that regardless of the positive or negative outcomes, emotional labor is hard and takes energy to complete. Emotional labor is often overlooked in education, but needs to be highlighted in order to help teachers navigate the difficult professional demands. Emotional labor is associated with different aspects of a teacher’s job, but is rarely, if ever, listed in job descriptions. Some educators do not even realize the effort it takes to display the necessary and expected emotions daily (Truta, 2012). Understanding how the demands of emotional labor impact the delicate balance between teachers’ personal and professional lives becomes increasingly difficult without further study.

2.2.2 Emotional Display Rules for Teachers

One aspect of emotional labor for teachers that merits further investigation is the establishment of and adherence to EDRs. Emotional display rules for teachers are similar to EDRs in other service industries. There are certain norms, or rules that teachers must follow when expressing emotions in the classroom and with their colleagues. In general, teachers are supposed to suppress negative emotions in favor of pleasant or warm emotions (Schutz & Lee, 2014). For example, it is inappropriate for a teacher to show anger or aggression even if students show anger or aggression toward the teacher. Instead, a teacher should react in a calm and reassuring way. Masking deep emotions such as anger with positive emotions takes work. More specifically, either deep or surface acting is necessary to display appropriate, positive emotions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Steinberg & Figart, 1999). With deep acting, a teacher might use regulation strategies to recall positive memories or use meditation techniques to suppress the negative emotions, eliciting the appropriate positive emotional response instead (Gross, 2008). A teacher might also merely act positive and happy even if they cannot create an inwardly positive emotion, participating in surface acting instead of deep acting. Whichever acting method is used, teachers should know the EDRs for their school in order to react appropriately in all instances, not just difficult situations.

Emotional display rules in education are sometimes difficult to identify. For example, it is unprofessional for a teacher to express strong feelings. The term unprofessional however, has many definitions, which is hard for teachers to navigate (Mackenzie, 2012). Researchers determined that district leaders do not explicitly list EDRs for teachers, instead teachers must rely on implicit knowledge and experience to determine the EDRs for each school (Kitching, 2009; Schutz & Lee, 2014; Schutz & Pekrun, 2007; Zembylas 2005). For novice teachers,

navigating EDRs and understanding emotional expectations is sometimes difficult due to a lack of experience. Experienced teachers tend to hide certain negative emotions even if negative emotions are experienced daily in normal routines while novice teachers tend to express negative emotions more often (Kitching, 2009).

Another difficulty for teachers lies in the variability of EDRs across schools or districts. Emotional display rules have cultural, personal, gender, situational, historical and professional roots causing an increase in variability across schools and districts (Schutz & Zembylas, 2009, p. 63). For instance, an elementary teacher is expected to display kindness, caring, love and compassion, while high school teachers suppress emotions, exhibiting more professional relationships with students. Another difference is associated with gender stereotypes. Female teachers are expected to show restraint and control with emotions while male teachers are asked to express more emotions to achieve a balance in the school (Schutz & Zembylas, 2009). Emotional display rules can also vary between public and private institutions (O'Connor, 2008). Teachers in each setting believe they are supposed to express certain emotions for specific reasons. For example, public schools teachers feel that they need to show caring emotions toward students in order to express their belief that all students can succeed. Private school teachers sometimes have different opinions on why they express caring emotions. One private school teacher studied by O'Connor (2008), felt that her school wanted her to express strong caring emotions to students in order "to show the parents they're getting value for the money" (p. 121).

With all of the differences in EDRs, Zembylas (2004b) asserts "emotions, for example, are not worked out solely through relationships, but are also shaped by the possibilities, constraints, and conventions of the school context" (p. 195). Navigating differences is difficult

for teachers, but also for researchers in order to determine overarching EDRs or norms for schools. Further research is necessary to fully understand educator EDRs followed to successfully fulfill job responsibilities. Future studies could determine the reasons for the differences in EDRs and possibly group similar schools or districts into categories to help teachers and leaders identify specific rules.

2.2.3 Current Theories/Research on Emotional Labor in Education

The current research and theoretical perspectives of emotional labor in education includes a variety of topics from the identification of emotional labor in education to the analysis of the relationship between teacher emotions and student cognition (sampling in Table 4). Each examined study aimed to further the once limited discussion of emotional labor in education. In the thirty years since Hochschild developed the term emotional labor, the research grew from identifying general aspects of emotion work to analyzing specific labor industries and the impact of emotional labor on customers and clients.

One of the first to delve into the work of emotions in education was Andy Hargreaves. His book *Changing Teachers, Changing Times* (1994), highlighted the issue that research into education is too focused on the researcher's perspective and tends to ignore the voice of the teacher. He focused specifically on how teachers feel about teaching, their relationships with students and how caring for students can be an arduous task. Hargreaves claims relationships formed in schools "can make the job easier or harder, fruitful or futile, rewarding or dispiriting" (p. 13). Four years later, he expounded upon his theoretical perspectives by completing interviews with teachers and principals, asking them questions about teacher-student relationships. Seventh and eighth grade teachers and their administrators in Ontario participated

in his work. His findings indicated teachers value the relationships created with students and enjoy teaching emotional values, not just the standards in math, reading and other content areas (Hargreaves, 1998). Forming strong relationships and delving into emotion work is difficult for teachers. Hargreaves (1998) believes that “it involves significant emotional understanding and emotional labor as well” (p. 850).

Michalinos Zembylas is another theorist and researcher who furthered the notion of emotional labor in teaching through his numerous works. Working with Isenbarger they identified the term caring teaching and examined how caring (expressing compassion and love) is both a component of effective teaching and can lead to emotional labor (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). Results also indicate that a “teacher’s performance of emotional labor is related to her professional and philosophical stance about the role of caring in teaching and learning” (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 120). Zembylas (2004a) completed another study explaining how teachers in all content areas, not just the humanities, experience emotion work. Theorists and educators before him believed emotions should not be included in the factual world of science and science teaching. Through his ethnographic case study of one elementary science teacher, he identified ways in which emotions and emotional labor were in fact a part of science education (Zembylas, 2004a). Zembylas’ works did not just help identify emotional labor in schools; he also uncovered the ways that teachers make sense of EDRs. Working closely with one teacher, he concluded “school policies, practices, and social conventions encoded emotional rules that regulated how Catherine was supposed to control her emotions expressing them ‘appropriate’ as the situation permitted” (Zembylas, 2005, p. 945). His findings support the notion that EDRs for teachers are not explicitly stated and warrant further investigation (Brown, 2011).

Overall, the research on emotional labor in education highlights a greater need to be cognizant of how emotions can affect both teachers and students. Day and Leitch (2001) summarize this by stating “teaching at its best requires motivation, commitment and emotional attachment, and this requires a deep knowledge of self as well as student” (p. 414). Teachers need to understand how their emotions impact students and the current research exemplifies this notion.

Table 4 *Sampling of the Research Studies in the Field of Emotional Labor in Education*

Author	Date	Measure/Methods	Sample/Participants	Research Aims/ Questions	Key Findings/ Notes
Hargreaves	1998	Interviews of both teachers and principals were conducted and transcribed. Any reference to the emotional nature of the job was highlighted	32 7 th and 8 th grade teachers from 4 different districts surrounding Ontario were chosen by their principals due to their commitment to common standards, integration and alternative forms of assessment	“1.What is the nature and importance of the student-teacher relationship? 2.How do teachers feel about educational changes and change processes in terms of their impact on these relationships?” (p.838)	Teaching is not just about competence and standards. Teachers value the bonds they have with students and the ability to teach emotional and social values, not just academic standards
Day & Leitch	2001	Narratives and Self Reflection Journaling	Opportunity Sampling Participants - 20 teachers from England and 19 from Northern Ireland participating in a 2 year, part-time masters program including a course on reflection and continuing professional development	1.How is the professional life of a teacher affected by their personal history? 2.Can professional development courses help teachers increase self-awareness of how emotions and cognition affect their teaching? (p.404)	This study demonstrated the interaction between the cognitive and emotional aspects of a teacher and how the emotional side strongly influences the cognitive mind
Isenbarger & Zembylas	2006	2 year long Collaborative Action Research Study	One teacher was studied by two participant-observers (the authors)	1.How does a teacher’s caring approach involve both positive and negative emotional labor? 2.What are the implications for a teacher’s professional and intellectual stance? (p.125)	They found “association[s] between caring and negative functions of emotional labor” and “the positive functions of emotional labor and caring teaching” (p.128)
Kitching	2009	Part of a larger mixed-methods study run by the Colleges of Education Research Consortium in Ireland	39 primary school teachers completed diary entries for 5 weeks 4 teachers completed post-diary exploratory interviews	This study examined teacher’s experiences and negative emotional displays in an effort to explain how work identities are formed and regulated.	Negative emotions serve a purpose in teaching. Teacher emotions can serve a behavior regulation purpose. Emotional expressions impact perceptions of teacher identity.
Brown	2011	Survey – The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale	Convenience sampling - 5 school districts, 1 charter and 1 laboratory school 469 total participants out of 527 respondents	“1.How do teachers describe the EDRs in their schools? 2.How do teachers describe the emotional labor involved in their teaching? 3.Do teachers’ perceptions of EDRs vary across districts, schools or both? 4.Do teachers’ perceptions of emotional labor vary across districts, schools, or both?” (p.43)	1.Teachers do perform emotional labor 2.Knowledge of EDRs correlates to emotional labor in schools. 3.EDRs are not explicitly stated in schools. The implicit rule is to be professional 4.Both surface and deep acting occur for teachers with greater amounts of surface acting present
Titworth, McKenna, Mazer & Quinlan	2013	Online survey including multiple existing questionnaires and scales	Site: 3 Universities Participants: 752 students	1.How do teachers’ communication behaviors, including teacher immediacy, clarity, and communication competence, influence students’ perceptions of emotional experiences in class? 2.How are specific feelings of enjoyment, pride, and hope affected? (p.191)	Strong support for the hypothesized model where teacher communication behaviors predict emotional processes and emotional outcomes was found in this study.

2.2.4 Impact and Implications of Emotional Labor in Education

Emotional labor is an experience that is so important to education that according to Hargreaves (1998), “classrooms would be (and sometimes are) barren and boring without it” (p. 840). Emotions often predict behaviors, reveal values and elicit specific student responses. According to Titsworth, McKenna, Mazer & Quinlan (2013), “emotions are viewed as essential resources that both enable and constrain the learning experiences of students and their teachers” (p. 193). Positive emotions can create positive learning environments, and negative expression of emotions can have detrimental effects on learning outcomes (Schutz & Pekrun, 2007).

Students not only learn content from teachers, but also how to react and interact in different social situations. Teacher emotions can even predict a child’s social and emotional behaviors (Schutz & Pekrun, 2007). If a teacher expresses positive emotions, students have positive interactions with other individuals in the classroom and, conversely, if a teacher expresses negative emotions, the interactions in the classroom are also negative (Goleman, 2008). The observation of emotional expressions also allows the observer to make conclusions about the values of the other individual (Zembylas, 2004b). Thus, strong emotions about a certain topic or situation equates to an important topic for the individual. A teacher showing strong negative emotions toward students caught cheating or stealing portrays the understanding that ethics and morality are important. On the other hand, a teacher ignoring the same situation, allows students to conclude that the teacher does not care about cheating or stealing (Zembylas, 2004b). It is not enough, however, for a teacher to care about and express positive values and morals for students to show positive behaviors. Sutton & Wheatley (2003) assert middle school students need to feel their teachers care about them in order to follow school rules (p. 341).

Students are perceptive and are always aware of teacher emotions, whether they are expressed or suppressed (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). Teachers should understand emotions so they can grasp the impact emotions and behaviors have on students.

As previously noted, teacher emotions both directly impact student behaviors, and can indirectly shape the learning environment through altering instructional behaviors. Teaching ideals and classroom conditions (including students' social-emotional skill levels) influence a teacher's goals for and perceptions of student behavior. A teacher expresses or suppresses emotions relative to an appraisal of student behavior and instructional conditions. Their emotions then impact instructional behaviors through cognitive, motivational and social support of their students. Their support, or lack of support, goes on to become part of the norms in the classroom, starting the cycle all over again (Schutz & Zembylas, 2009).

Teacher emotions and instructional behaviors directly impact student emotions, classroom behaviors and academic performance. For this reason, continued research on emotions in schools is necessary to continue to strive for high quality education. After reviewing the literature and identifying possible gaps, future research should focus on a tangible list of EDRs for teachers. The current findings indicate teachers discover EDRs through experience rather than an explicit list. The research on educational EDRs has also only included general interactions with students. Further research should include the EDRs teachers follow when using classroom management techniques or disciplining students since findings suggest negative displays of emotions can have negative effects on students (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). Another possible study would examine teacher-student relationships in order to determine when negative

emotions are most often expressed. Further research is necessary to help teachers understand how their expression or suppression of emotions can impact students in both positive and negative ways.

2.3 HOW ARE TEACHER EMOTIONS RELATED TO STUDENT BEHAVIORS IN THE CLASSROOM?

Teaching, learning and emotions are inextricably linked. Teachers decide, either consciously or subconsciously, which emotions to express and which ones to suppress while teaching and forming relationships with students. The relationships a teacher forms with students ultimately affect the learning environment; creating positive or negative experiences for students. The quality of the relationships formed is equally important because the quality of the relationship positively correlates to the quality of the education a student receives and overall student achievement (O'Connor & McCartney, 2007). Students who can form strong, positive relationships with teachers are more likely to have a higher academic performance than those that have weaker or form no relationships with teachers. Hamre and Pianta (2001) assert “that beyond cognitive functioning and classroom behavior, children’s ability to form relationships with their teachers forecasts later academic and behavioral adjustment in school” (p. 634).

Strong teacher-student relationships do not happen automatically. Instead, relationships form through purposeful work. Brophy & Rohrkemper (1982) found “teachers’ needs and students’ personal characteristics” often shaped teacher-student relationships (p. 19). For example, some teachers feel a need to be in control and do not attempt to form a relationship with a student that is overly aggressive or controlling (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1982).

Conversely, some teachers feel a great need to care for others and begin to form relationships with all of their students, paying particular attention to those with troubled home lives (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1982). Knowing the need for forming relationships and their outcomes helps teachers form stronger relationships, helping more students succeed academically.

In general, an awareness of the effect emotions can have on the learning environment is important. If teachers or students are unaware of their emotions there can be negative consequences. For example, aggressive and violent interactions in classrooms result from teachers or students that are unable to recognize and address certain emotions (Gillies, 2011). On the other hand, Goleman (2008) asserts, “teaching kids to be emotionally and socially competent boosts their academic achievement” (p. 8). A teacher’s emotional awareness and ability to regulate emotions in an effective way leads to an increased sense of efficacy and facilitates positive classroom environments with strong management routines (Jennings & Greenberg, 2009; Tschannen-Moran, Woolfolk Hoy & Hoy, 1998). Creating a positive classroom environment and fostering positive relationships with students is pivotal in promoting student development (Shinn & Yoshikawa, 2008).

2.3.1 Student Emotions and the Relationship to Learning

Teacher emotions and teacher-student relationships are not the only factors that affect student learning. Students’ internal emotions and the expressions of emotions in the classroom can also impact the learning environment. According to Trigwell, Ellis and Han (2012), emotions are “related to students’ motivation, learning strategies, cognitive resources, self-regulation and academic achievement” (p. 813). Emotions can affect the way students think; how they process information, and their ability to store and access information later (Trigwell et al., 2012). A

discussion of student learning then should also include a discussion of thinking, emotions and fostering appropriate emotional expressions in school (Goleman, 2008).

Emotions are valuable predictors of an individual's experiences. The expression of positive emotions by teachers is associated with increased academic achievement and student motivation throughout the year (Patrick, Turner, Meyer & Midgley, 2003). Individual student emotions are just as important as the emotional atmosphere created by the teacher in a classroom. Adu-Febiri (2011) claims emotions "facilitate the production and practice of knowledge" (p. 41). Connecting emotionally to the content and other students in the classroom has an affect on learning. If experiences and connections are positive, there may be a correlation to an increase in the ability to problem-solve, the creation of more divergent thinking and an increase in overall academic abilities (King & Areepattamannil, 2014, p. 19). Positive emotions are not just associated with positive learning experiences in classrooms. Experiencing positive emotions can even lead to an overall increase in an individual's sense of well-being and overall life satisfaction (Bastian, Kuppens, DeRoover, & Diener, 2014). Other research spanning a diverse set of academic and behavioral backgrounds support Bastian et al.'s findings. Sutherland (2000) studied students with behavioral, emotional disability (BED) and found that even within this population, positive interactions have positive academic and behavioral results. Improving emotional experiences in classrooms has a direct affect on academic outcomes. Increased academic outcomes and enhancing a student's ability to learn ultimately equates to "improved flexibility in behavior and judgment" (Jensen, 2005, p. 75).

Negative or uncontrolled emotional experiences can also impact a student's ability to learn (Gillies, 2011). Uncontrolled emotions usually indicate stress or distress and negative emotions can stem from conflict or violence. The areas of the brain that function under stress or

emotional distress hinder the areas that are responsible for learning and memory acquisition (Goleman, 2008). Students experiencing negative emotions in classrooms or who perceive the classroom environment as violent also experience a negative impact on their ability to learn and acquire knowledge (Jensen, 2005). Studies link specific negative emotions to certain aspects of learning. King & Areepattamannil (2014) link anger, anxiety and boredom to a decrease in: the ability to elaborate on a concept, effort and interest in challenging problems. Such skills are integral in creating problem solvers, critical thinkers and are crucial to creating twenty-first century learners, thus there is a need to minimize negative emotional experiences in classrooms.

It is important for teachers to understand and connect with the emotions of their students. The difficulty, however, is that teachers ask students to overcome an apparent dichotomy of learning. Every day teachers expect students to show a passion for learning, but at the same time request a flat response in behaviors (Gillies, 2011). For instance, teachers expect students to get excited and be enthusiastic during a science experiment showing chemical reactions, but not too excited as to raise voice level, call out or yell. This is difficult for many students to manage. Showing strong emotions only for the content and not while interacting with other individuals in the classroom is a challenge. Some students do not yet know or understand how to suppress strong emotions. The necessity to detach personal emotions from strong, constructive arguments such as a classroom debate can challenge some students. A debate that starts over a highly charged topic may end in a playground fistfight if a teacher does not help the students navigate their emotions. Students, therefore, must be taught how manage emotional displays while expressing passion and discord. Many students do not have the ability to control their emotions

in such a complex and responsive way, which leads to discipline problems in the classroom. Teachers must manage the emotions, arguments and fights so they do not end in bullying and negative, personal verbal exchanges.

2.3.2 Emotions and Classroom Management

Classroom management involves the task of recognizing and addressing behaviors in the classroom. Effective teachers minimize difficult behaviors while encouraging appropriate ones, increasing time spent on learning tasks. Current studies focus on the effectiveness of different management strategies, models, practices and aim to identify correlations between the amount of discipline infractions and the use of a particular strategy or model. The important emotional connection to classroom management only exists as either a discussion point for social and emotional learning or to illuminate the negative impacts teachers experience while disciplining students and the emotions involved in conflicts.

There are many evidence-based strategies for classroom management in the current literature. Gottfredson and Gottfredson (2001) surveyed 848 principals in public, private and Catholic school settings in order to try to identify the different types of management strategies used by schools to prevent discipline issues. They found a range of strategies from “security and surveillance, through school climate change, to counseling and curricular or instructional programs” (p. 313). The variety of strategies found poses a challenge to researchers attempting to identify specific effective management strategies (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 2001). The main source of current research is surveys. The surveys attempt to identify why and how teachers choose a particular management strategy. Few researches actually observe and identify the management choices teachers make in the classroom (Valenti, 2011). Working with this

deficit, Valenti surveyed 1215 teachers using the Survey of Behaviors and Strategies (SBAS), in order to identify the strategies teachers choose and whether or not they match the chosen strategies to the severity of the behaviors (2011). He found that teachers match strategy intensity to only the most severe behaviors and reportedly teachers use research-based interventions more than non-evidence based interventions (Valenti, 2011). The results suggest that teachers know what strategies to use, but just need assistance or training to choose an appropriate evidence-based strategy based on the severity of the behaviors.

The current evidence-based behavior management strategies include Skinner and Pavlov's behavioral approach models focused on reinforcement and punishment to reduce problem behaviors and increase appropriate behaviors (Woods, 2008). According to Woods (2008), this approach is followed when "teachers reward behaviors that conform with school rules, making these behaviors more likely to be repeated, whilst punishing behaviors that break school rules, making these behaviors less likely to be repeated" (p. 182). The difficulty Woods identifies with behavior modification interventions is that they do not include important aspects of a child's development, mainly, "emotions, a sense of justice, and their relationships with peers" (2008, p. 183). The difficulty in disciplining students and managing classroom behaviors then lies in the different emotional responses students have to certain situations. Emotional reactions are difficult to manage, but being aware of student's tendencies toward certain emotions improves a teacher's ability to effectively react and manage difficult situations.

Intervention strategies to correct or increase certain classroom behaviors are just one of the many items researchers are studying in the field of classroom management. Another field of study includes daily prevention and instruction techniques. Norris (2003) used social and emotional learning as a lens for classroom management, asserting that using social and emotional

learning allows students to “recognize, regulate and express the social and emotional aspects of their lives so they can successfully manage life tasks” (p. 314). Through this prevention technique, students learn valuable social skills and strategies to self-regulate and self-monitor their behaviors (Norris, 2003). Teaching social and emotional lessons helps to create a positive classroom environment, which is one of the most critical roles a teacher can play (Norris, 2003).

The use of the prevention and intervention strategies previously discussed can create a positive classroom environment. Another important catalyst for forming a classroom environment is a teacher’s emotions. A teacher’s emotions can directly impact the classroom environment, student emotions and behaviors. The difficulty for teachers occurs in managing negative student behaviors without exhibiting similar emotions. Unacceptable behavior for teachers includes the expression of negative emotions, such as anger, anxiety and hostility however, they are often the reality when disciplining students. Many teachers experience frustration when students do not follow directions or feel angry when students misbehave, but a best practice involves masking those negative emotions. Ultimately, a teacher’s reaction to difficult situations and student behaviors can either escalate or de-escalate certain situations (Kerr & Valenti, 2009). Learning strategies to de-escalate conflict and manage personal emotions is essential to the creation of a positive classroom environment. Some strategies teachers can employ include “the use of I-messages, interpretive feedback, and quiet messages” (Topper, Williams, Leo, Hamilton, & Fox, 1994, p. 66). The use of these strategies necessitates prior training. Many teachers, without this training, may feel they should just limit their expression of negative emotions.

Teachers feel internalizing negative emotions in favor of positive ones is essential to being an effective educator (Sutton, Mudrey-Camino & Knight, 2009). Holding in all of their

negative emotions during times of conflict and while using behavior intervention strategies can be a challenge for some educators. Chang (2009) asserts the use of emotion regulation during classroom management strategies may even cause burnout in teachers. Burnout occurs due to the limited (calm and professional) emotional display responses available for teachers (Chang, 2009). Jennings and Greenberg (2009) attest, “coping with their own negative emotional responses is a major stressor for teachers” (p. 497). Teachers balance the difficult work of managing classroom behaviors, creating a positive classroom environment and managing personal emotions. Many times however, the balance of all three leads to emotional exhaustion (Jennings, Foltz, Snowberg, Sim, & Kemeny, 2011).

Ultimately, teachers want to avoid negative interactions in order to create a positive classroom environment. Teachers can limit student negative behaviors by utilizing active supervision and pre-correction strategies (Colvin, Sugai, Good & Lee, 1997). Class wide interventions help to create a positive classroom environment, establishing effective routines, and limiting the amount of negative interactions occurring in a classroom (Conroy, Sutherland, Snyder & Marsh, 2008). Also important is for teachers to have an emotional awareness. A teacher that can identify and react positively to the emotional undercurrents in a room has a positive effect on their students (Keith, 2010). Some effective ways to overcome negative interactions with students are to stay positive, limit frustrations and identify irrational thoughts about the student behaviors (Maag, 2008).

Smith & Laslett (1992) claim that confrontations and conflict between teachers and students are not only unproductive, but are also “demeaning and undignified” (p. 54). Lewis (2001) found in his study that teachers should react to student misbehavior in a calm manner instead of becoming coercive. Teachers should also consult with others when choosing

classroom management strategies. Lewis (2001) asserts that one stakeholder that should have a voice is the student. He feels an important aspect is to include students when developing classroom rules and consequences. Students who take part in developing management strategies take pride in their classroom and ultimately follow the established rules more frequently. Students taking on part of the responsibility for the classroom will request that other students follow expectations, ensuring a more positive learning environment (Lewis, 2001). Following these strategies creates positive academic outcomes and responsible students (Lewis, 2001).

2.3.3 Conflict in the Classroom

In a classroom, there are many different personalities trying to work together for a common goal. Even with the best classroom management routines, conflicts in the classroom between students and even between the teacher and students are hard to avoid. Holton (1999) characterizes classroom conflict as ranging from “mild inattention to physical violence” (p.59). Even though conflicts ending in single aggressive acts, such as fights, are declining in the United States, repeated aggressive conflicts such as bullying are still a major problem for educators (Alvarez, 2007; Akin-Little, Little & Gresham, 2004). Due to the prevalence of conflict, teachers should understand both conflict and the emotional reactions to conflict in order to better understand how to create a positive environment for learning.

Emotions play an important role in times of conflict (Coleman, Deutsch & Marcus, 2014). Emotions drive the fight or flight response and allow us to respond quickly, determining if we stay and fight or run to avoid danger (Coleman et al., 2014). Although helpful when stalked by a bear in the woods or in a burning house, fighting or fleeing is not appropriate in classrooms. A threatening stimulus takes first priority in the brain. In a classroom, the

threatening stimuli (person, emotion or event) overshadow the daily learning goal (Coleman et al., 2014). Emotions associated with threats always get preferential treatment in the brain to help facilitate future reactions (Jensen, 2005). Teachers, however, want to ensure learning goals receive preferential treatment in students' brains instead of the emotions related to negative conflict.

The other challenge in classrooms where there are continuous negative conflicts and daily behavior problems is that the teachers also have a heightened sense of emotions (Gillies, 2011). Even when the negative interaction is between students, teachers deal with both the conflict and the need to express or suppress negative emotions. Moriarty (2009) cautions that, "a teacher's high level of emotion can have a reciprocal effect on the student, who may react by becoming even more emotionally charged" (p. 81). Adding even more negative emotions to the classroom can have drastic results. When there are repeated negative student-teacher interactions filled with conflict, academic and behavioral student outcomes are negatively affected (Hamre & Pianta, 2001, p. 634). In order to decrease the negative outcomes, negative interactions within the classrooms must decrease.

One way to minimize negative conflict is prior training for teachers (Alvarez, 2007). Training should include how to appraise the situation, de-escalation strategies, create routines and use appropriate emotion regulation strategies to manage student behaviors (Chang, 2009; Moriarty, 2009). Teachers with an emotional awareness can turn negative emotional situations into learning experiences, using them as a stepping-stone to building positive relationships with their students. Kerr and Valenti (2009) assert that, although "teachers could benefit from good professional development targeting student behavior, teachers can take solace in the fact that they can prevent many classroom crises merely by changing what they say and how they say it"

(p. 33). Further research is necessary to understand the potential link between the emotions teachers express while interacting with students and the conflicts occurring in the classroom. Emotional labor theory and EDRs for negative interactions should influence this research since EDRs for teachers in times of conflict are non-existent. In the current literature, there is an apparent correlation between conflict and student academic outcomes. What is missing is the link between explicit EDRs for teachers during negative conflict and how following those rules impacts the amount of conflict and ultimately the learning outcomes for students.

2.3.4 Current Theories/Research on Emotions in the Classroom

Some of the current emotion research focuses on teacher-student relationships and how those relationships impact learning and behavioral outcomes (Lander, 2009; Norris 2003; O'Connor & McCartney, 2007; Patrick et al., 2003). Other researchers such as Morris-Rothschild & Brassard (2006) contend that the current research focuses on the strategies teachers use for classroom management, but lacks a focus on why teachers use certain strategies. Other areas of research include the emotional outcomes for teachers and how classroom management relates to both job satisfaction and efficacy (Plax, Kearney & Downs, 1986).

In the research on teacher-student relationships, the findings indicate that relationships between teachers and students are important and can have an impact on the student's academic outcomes. O'Connor & McCartney (2007) completed a longitudinal study of 880 children in 10 locations throughout the United States in order to identify correlations between the relationships a child has with teachers in preschool through third grade and achievement scores on standardized tests in third grade. Findings indicate a positive correlation between the quality of the relationship and the scores on achievement tests in third grade. Teachers, therefore need to

understand the power of the relationships they create with students. Understanding emotional labor theories and how surface or deep acting can be utilized to form positive relationships should be at the forefront of educational theory and research.

Forming relationships is not the only way a teacher impacts his or her students in the classroom. Another way (and an important area of research) is through the choice of classroom management strategies used to manage behaviors and form positive teacher-student relationships. There are many strategies for a teacher to choose from when forming their personal classroom management techniques. They can use prevention strategies such as positive reinforcement or punitive strategies such as punishments to manage behaviors. Positive reinforcements can include positive phone calls home and tangible rewards while punishments range from writing letters of apology to time outs and suspensions (Valenti, 2011). The research suggests that teachers need training and experience in order to use the different management techniques effectively (Alvarez, 2007). One effective strategy found to decrease the amount of negative emotions experienced by students is the use of a promotion based regulatory strategy (Leung & Lam, 2003). They found that teachers who used promotion-based strategies actually praised students more and were less likely to punish, causing negative emotions in students (Leung & Lam, 2003). Lewis (2001) found that punishment strategies and coercive tactics negatively impact a student's sense of responsibility and distract them from learning. Teachers need to understand how both their relationships, and the types of management strategies they use can impact the achievement and emotions of students in their classrooms.

Teacher emotions and their reactions to different types of classroom management strategies make up the last portion of the literature reviewed. Overall findings indicate training impacts both the strategies teachers choose and their emotional outcomes (Alvarez, 2007).

Chang (2009), completed a survey of 555 novice teachers and found that the ability to appraise a situation (including when using classroom management strategies) leads to a specific choice of an emotion regulation strategy. She also found that some of the strategies novice teachers choose when regulating heightened emotions in times of stress can lead to burnout (Chang, 2009). Jennings et al. (2011), also found a negative outcome for teachers emotionally when trying to use classroom management strategies in order to create a positive classroom environment. Their study revealed a correlation between emotional exhaustion and classroom management techniques in teachers that are low in social and emotional competencies. This study comes after Jennings and Greenberg (2009) stated, “little research has focused on how teachers’ social and emotional competence supports their ability to cope with these stressors and regulate the accompanying emotions to promote supportive relationships with their students and prevent and manage disruptive student behaviors” (p. 499). Overall, the research related to teacher emotions and classroom management strategies searches for links to teacher emotional outcomes and their choice of strategies or the emotional and academic outcomes for students when teachers use management techniques (sampling of the research found in Table 5). One apparent gap in the literature relates to emotional displays for teachers and the emotional labor associated with classroom management techniques.

Table 5 *Sampling of the Research Studies in the Field of Classroom Management*

Author	Date	Measure/Methods	Sample/Participants	Research Aims/ Questions	Key Findings/ Notes
Lewis	2001	Student Questionnaire given to all students in the responding schools in grades 6,7,9 and 11	21 Primary schools with a 44% response rate and 21 Secondary schools with a 70% response rate in the Northeast region of Victoria	This study examined the role of discipline in promoting a student's responsibility for learning and classroom safety	Students report that teachers react to misbehavior with coercive tactics, lowering their personal sense of responsibility and distract them from learning goals.
Leung & Lam	2003	Teachers were randomly assigned to either a promotion or prevention framing focus group and were studied through the use of a questionnaire	179 Hong Kong Primary School Teachers	To examine how a regulatory focus (promotion vs. prevention) affects classroom management and the emotional outcome of strategy failure	Teachers that had a focus on promotion rather than prevention praised students more often than punished and experienced fewer negative emotions
Morris-Rothschild & Brassard	2006	Written Questionnaire	283 elementary and secondary teachers in upstate New York	This study investigated the relationship between Classroom Management Efficacy (CMEFF) and attachment security to the use of positive classroom management strategies	CMEFF and years of teaching were found to have a positive correlation to the use of compromising and integrating classroom management techniques
Alvarez	2007	Self-report assessments and responses to 4 hypothetical vignettes of student aggression	121 5 th – 8 th grade teachers from 11 public schools in southwest Virginia	Does teacher training affect a teacher's reaction and interventions to aggression in the classroom?	Prior training positively impacts reactions to aggressive student behaviors and overall classroom management strategies
O'Connor & McCartney	2007	Longitudinal study using the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development Study of Early Care and Education	880 children from 10 different locations in the U.S. were used from the original sample of 1,346 children and mothers	To determine if there are associations between the teacher-student relationship from preschool through 3 rd grade and 3 rd grade achievement scores	Positive associations exist between teacher-student relationships and achievement in the sample studied.
Chang	2009	Online survey	555 new teachers working in Ohio	To study teacher emotions and the appraisals of situations in the classroom in order to determine how teachers choose to manage or cope with their emotions	Chang found that appraisal of the situation leads to specific regulation strategies and that the strategies can lead to teacher burnout
Jennings et al.	2011	Two studies of the intervention were conducted 1. Post-intervention differences were studied through classroom observations and self-reports. 2. Randomized control pilot trial consisting of observations, self-reports and interviews	Study 1: 21 teachers volunteered for the study and 13 were assigned the intervention and 8 the control Study 2: 35 teachers were randomly assigned the control and intervention groups	The Cultivating Emotional Balance (CEB) Intervention was studied to identify potential differences along 20 dimensions of classroom climate	CEB teachers rated higher in productivity during study 1, but study 2 found no differences on classroom climate or attitude scales. Finding to note: Teachers low in social and emotional competence have trouble managing the demands of behavior management and creating a positive classroom environment leading to emotional exhaustion.
Valenti	2011	Survey of Behaviors and Strategies (SBAS)	1215 teachers from 65 schools in 1 urban district	1. To identify what behavioral interventions teachers report they use the most 2. To identify if teachers match the intensity of the intervention to the severity of the behavior 3. To identify use frequency of evidence-based or non-evidence based interventions (p.77)	Teachers report that they use evidence-based interventions the most. More severe behaviors are matched with the intervention intensity.

2.3.5 Summary of Emotions in the Classroom Literature

The literature reviewed illustrated the need for teachers to have an emotional awareness in their classrooms. Findings indicate teacher emotions are linked to both student learning and behavioral outcomes (Goleman, 2008; O'Connor & McCartney, 2007; Trigwell et al., 2012). Positive expression of emotions for both teachers and students can have a positive influence on behavioral and academic outcomes while negative emotions can have a negative effect on the learning environment. For teachers, extreme expressions of negative emotions can also affect mental health in the form of, burnout, emotional exhaustion, decrease in job satisfaction and even turnover rates.

Understanding emotions and gaining an ability to regulate emotions at work is important for teachers in order to limit negative outcomes (Titsworth et al., 2013). Of particular importance is the need for teachers to understand emotions during conflict and while participating in classroom management strategies. These two instances are important to note because of the heightened emotions evident in both cases. Emotions are an important part of a conflict and can help us in times of extreme distress. They can also distract us when the conflict occurs in the classroom while we are trying to participate in a learning activity (Vogt & De Houwer, 2014). A teacher's ability to control his or her own emotions while in conflict with students is important. They can de-escalate situations and manage classroom disruptions when their personal emotions express a sense of being calm and in control (Jennings et al., 2011).

In order for teachers to appropriately display emotions in times of conflict, they must know their building leader and school district expectations (Brown, 2011). Current research does not identify, or list, specific and appropriate EDRs teachers can follow to create positive emotional displays. Further research is necessary to identify both the necessary general EDRs

for teachers and the EDRs followed during conflict. Ultimately, participating in surface or deep acting (displaying the appropriate emotional response) is easier once individuals know the EDRs (Brown, 2011; Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005). Conflicts are difficult emotionally for all involved. However, if teachers regulate their emotions appropriately, the emotional impact on students is reduced (Jennings & Greenberg, 2009; Tschannen-Moran et al., 1998). Reducing the emotional impact on students may lead to a more positive classroom environment and have a positive impact on academic and behavioral outcomes (Gillies, 2011; Jensen 2005; King & Areepattamannil, 2014).

2.4 CONCLUSIONS AND POSSIBLE RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES

Emotional labor, or the work an employee does to express or repress certain emotions, plays an important role in service industry jobs. Employees are asked to follow specific EDRs in order to successfully fulfill job requirements and for the company to make a profit (Terpstra et al., 2012). Following EDRs sometimes requires employees to participate in either surface or deep acting. According to the literature the work employees perform displaying emotions (felt or not) is emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983/2012). In certain jobs, such as teaching, emotional labor may not result in an increase of funds for a school, but can increase the academic output of students as noted in the research linking teacher emotions to student learning outcomes (Goleman, 2008; O'Connor & McCartney, 2007; Trigwell et al., 2012). Teachers participate in surface or deep acting to display emotions (like other service industries). However, their employers do not specifically describe which emotions to display. The way employers ask employees to participate in emotional labor illustrates the difference between education and other service-

oriented occupations. In teaching, the EDRs are often general or are implicitly stated, such that, a teacher must determine rules based on experience and ability to read certain situations. The interpretation and subsequent emotion work is often difficult for teachers and leads to burnout and emotional exhaustion. In other service roles, explicit EDRs and training are the norm (Hochschild, 1983/2012; Moriarty, 2009).

The emotions teachers display in the classroom, whether they come from natural emotions, surface or deep acting, affect students. Historically, students have higher academic outcomes when they experience positive emotions and learn in a calm and positive environment (Gillies, 2011; Jensen 2005). A teacher's emotions may even build or break down the important relationships they have with students. Teachers therefore, need to understand how emotions impact students and overall academic outcomes (Schutz & Pekrun, 2007).

Another important area for teachers to pay close attention to is the use of classroom management strategies. Skinner's behaviorism theories help teachers understand how their actions can impact student actions and why certain classroom management strategies work. Most of the time, teachers use prevention strategies to limit the amount of classroom disruptions. When there are disruptions or conflicts within the classroom, however, these are usually times of heightened emotions. Conflict theory and the fight or flight response have also been used to better understand student conflict in the classroom. Overall, our emotions are supposed to help us determine how to react in times of extreme trouble. The problem occurs when student emotions are focused more on conflict than learning goals. Teachers' reactions to conflict and the emotions they express can also either de-escalate or escalate certain situations (Kerr & Valenti, 2009). Teachers should understand how emotions and reactions impact students in order to be effective educators.

One element to focus on is how we communicate during the conflict. Merely changing communication strategies “might avoid classroom combat” (Kerr & Valenti, 2009, p. 30). Teachers are supposed to react calmly in the face of disruptive student behaviors and in times of conflict but receive little training on how to accomplish this task. Other professions, such as emergency room doctors and flight attendants, receive training that enables them to remain calm in the face of crisis and conflict (Hochschild 1983/2012; Moriarty, 2009). Teachers also lack the necessary framework for expressing and discussing their emotions in schools. Emotional labor may provide the necessary framework for such work. Ultimately, the difficulty for educators is to determine what a calm reaction looks like in the absence of explicit EDRs. For teachers, there is room for interpretation of reactions and there are even differences in expectations schools. Further research is needed to identify EDRs for teachers during disruptive and conflict scenarios in the classroom in order to minimize distractions and increase academic success.

Overall, this review of the literature identified three main gaps in the literature related to the three guiding questions:

Question 1: What is the definition of emotional labor as defined by the research?

Question 2: What does the literature say about emotional labor and the necessary emotional display rules as they relate to education and teaching?

Question 3: How are teacher emotions related to student behaviors in the classroom?

The body of research reviewed would benefit from new perspectives and approaches in order to gain deeper understanding from participants. The literature on educational emotional labor focused mainly on teachers as participants in the studies. Often left out are viewpoints of other stakeholders such as the principal, student and parents. Another gap in perspectives is how building leaders view the emotional labor their teachers experience. The final gap occurs in the

area of EDRs for teachers and more specifically on which EDRs teachers follow while experiencing conflict or while using classroom management strategies. Further inquiry into these areas or research from a different perspective would add to the knowledge base and would build on the seminal work of Hochschild on emotional labor.

3.0 METHODS

This chapter explains the theoretical framework, problem under investigation, and research questions, then outlines the interview protocol and explains the analytic approach used to answer the research questions. Current research on emotional labor, classroom management strategies and emotions in the classroom creates a basis for the formation of a theoretical framework for this study. A multitude of research exists on each topic; however, there is little information on how the three overlap and interact with each other, especially in circumstances where negative teacher-student interactions are occurring. This qualitative study includes interviews of teachers and teaching assistants, gathering their perspectives on the emotional labor experienced during negative teacher-student interactions.

3.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework and assumptions gleaned from review of the literature guided this research study. Choice of research questions and study design followed the constructivist paradigm. Mertens (2010) attests constructivists aim to “gain an understanding of the constructions held by people in that context” (p.226). The research questions under investigation address descriptions of emotional labor from teachers in the school context. The choice of using qualitative measures illustrated rich participant descriptions. According to Seidman (2006),

qualitative research “is a powerful way to gain insight into educational and other important social issues through understanding the experience of the individuals whose lives reflect those issues” (p. 14).

Review of the literature also led to assumptions and formed the basis for the study design. Assumptions included relevant natural emotion theory, emotional labor theory, and the constructs: display rules, surface and deep acting. Emotional labor is “the process of regulating one’s emotional displays in response to display rules so that work goals can be achieved” (Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005, p.1256). Unlike businesses, the field of emotional labor research in education is sparse and in need of further investigation. Specifically there is an apparent gap in the research of specific display rules for teachers.

Research in the field of education does include the study of emotions in general. Two common themes include the experience of emotions in the classroom and the outcome of emotional expression (Goleman, 2008; O’Connor & McCartney, 2007; Trigwell et al., 2012). Studies also conclude conflict in the classroom leads to heightened emotions and negative outcomes for both teachers and students (Gillies, 2011; Moriarty, 2009). Conflict in classrooms occurs daily and ranges from the mundane to intense physical altercations. For the purpose of this study, conflict is “open arguments between faculty and students or between students themselves” (Holton, 1999, p. 60). Teachers experience emotions during such negative teacher-student interactions and utilize management strategies to minimize the effects (Alvarez, 2007; Chang, 2009; Kerr & Valenti, 2009; Moriarty, 2009).

After reviewing studies and theories on emotional labor, classroom management and emotions in the classroom, a few central themes emerged (as seen in Table 6). According to Mertens (2010), “the narrowing of research questions, creation of concepts and categories, and

integrations of the constructed theoretical framework reflect what and how the researcher thinks and does about shaping and collecting the data” (p. 237). The gathered key conceptual components influenced survey and interview questions designed to describe the emotional labor experiences of teachers. The conceptual framework also formed a basis for determining codes, patterns and analyzing data.

Table 6 *Conceptual Frameworks linked to Research Questions*

Conceptual Framework	Sources	Research Question(s)
Emotional labor is experienced by service employees (including teachers) trying to manage (express or suppress) emotions in the workplace	Glomb & Tews, 2004 Grandey, 2000 Gross, 2008 Hochschild, 1983/2012 Morris & Feldman, 1996 Schutz & Zembylas, 2009 Sutton & Wheatley, 2003	RQ 1: How do educators describe the emotional labor they experience during negative teacher-student interactions?
There are explicit and implicit EDRs employees follow in the workplace	Gross, 2008 Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006 Kitching, 2009 Mackenzie, 2012 Schutz & Lee, 2014 Schutz & Pekrun, 2007 Sutton & Wheatley, 2003 Zembylas, 2005	RQ 2: Are there emotional display rules educators report they follow during negative teacher-student interactions? What are those rules?
Employees complete either surface or deep acting when using EDRs	Gross, 2008 Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006 Kitching, 2009 Mackenzie, 2012 Schutz & Lee, 2014 Schutz & Pekrun, 2007 Sutton & Wheatley, 2003 Zembylas, 2005	RQ 1: How do educators describe the emotional labor they experience during negative teacher-student interactions? RQ 2: Are there emotional display rules educators report they follow during negative teacher-student interactions? What are those rules?
During contentious situations there are heightened emotions	Coleman et al., 2014 Gillies, 2011 Jensen, 2005 Moriarty, 2009	RQ 1: How do educators describe the emotional labor they experience during negative teacher-student interactions? RQ 2: Are there emotional display rules educators report they follow during negative teacher-student interactions? What are those rules?
Prior training can help teachers learn to de-escalate and manage contentious situations in the classroom	Alvarez, 2007 Chang, 2009 Kerr & Valenti, 2009 Moriarty, 2009	RQ 3: What training do educators report they receive on the use of emotional display rules during negative teacher-student interactions?

3.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Teaching is emotional work. Positive emotions such as joy, pride and hope fill some school days. Learning new concepts and developing good teaching-student relationships can spark positive emotions. There are some days, however, where teachers experience negative emotions such as annoyance, frustration and anger. These undesirable emotional experiences can stem from instances of negative conflict between teachers and students (Gillies, 2011; Moriarty, 2009). Teachers must navigate emotions daily, choosing which ones to display and which ones to suppress.

The current body of research covers teachers' emotional experiences and their impact (Goleman, 2008; O'Connor & McCartney, 2007; Trigwell et al., 2012). We also know how teachers manage conflict and what management techniques have a positive impact on the classroom environment (Alvarez, 2011; Leung & Lam, 2003; Lewis, 2001; Valenti, 2011). Additional research has focused on how teachers perform emotional labor and the impact of that labor (Brown, 2011; Hargreaves, 1998; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). A gap in the research is in the area of emotional display rules (EDRs) for teachers. Teachers perform emotional labor daily without explicit EDRs. Instead of receiving EDRs during professional training or in faculty handbooks, they develop their own rules through experience and interactions with building leaders. Choosing which emotions to express is hard enough. When there are negative emotions and contentious situations, the choice can be even harder. Currently, we know little about teachers' understandings of EDRs during negative teacher-student interactions. This study describes teacher perceptions of and the training received for the EDRs necessary for negative teacher-student interactions (as seen in Figure 2).

Although there is a wealth of research on emotional labor, it is an area that continues to be under studied in education. This study used a rich participant group and open-ended interview protocol to understand teacher perceptions of emotional labor in the school context. Themes and patterns emerging from interview data explain the way teachers manage their emotions during negative interactions; adding to the current body of literature. Data analysis informs further research in the area of explicit EDRs for educators.

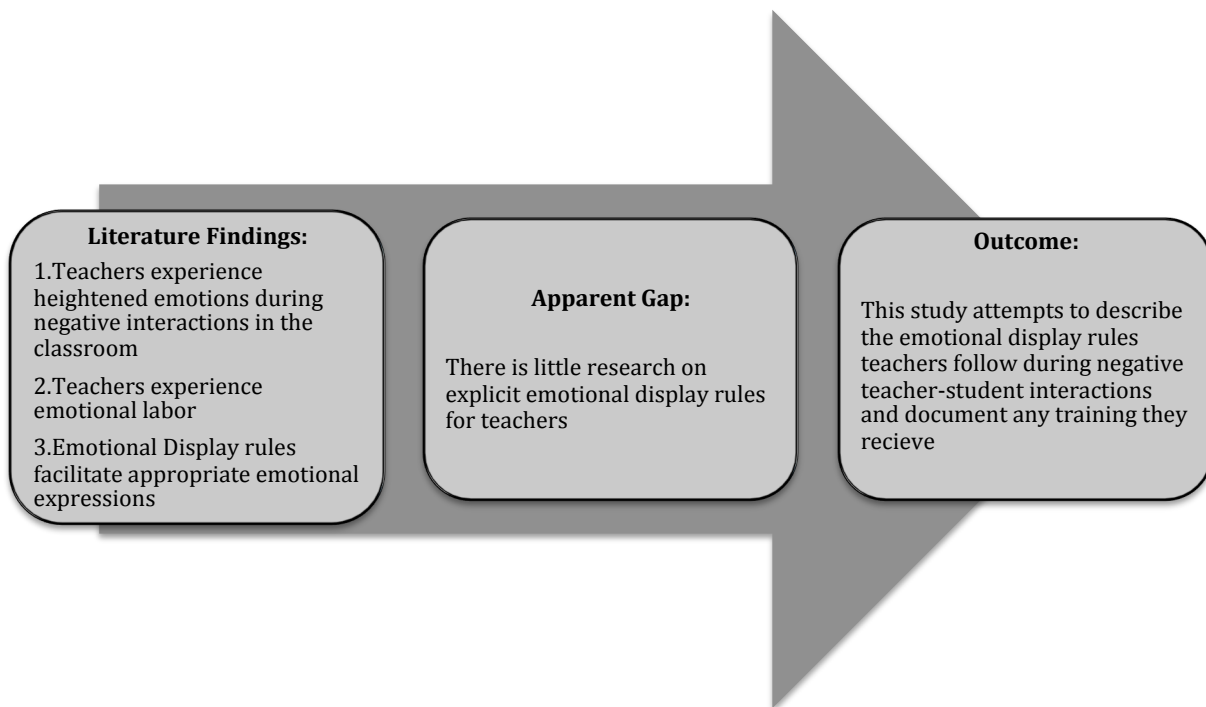


Figure 2. A model of the problem space under investigation.

3.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Three research questions guided this study:

Question 1: How do educators describe the emotional labor they experience during negative teacher-student interactions?

Question 2: Are there emotional display rules educators report they follow during negative teacher-student interactions? What are those rules?

Question 3: What training do educators report they receive on the use of emotional display rules during negative teacher-student interactions?

3.4 RESEARCH PROTOCOL

Central to each research question was the search for an educator's perspective on the emotional labor experienced during negative teacher-student interactions. By interviewing teachers and teaching assistants and inquiring about their perceptions and perspectives, I attempted to find common themes and patterns in the emotions displayed during contentious situations and where participants learned their EDRs. This section further identifies the setting, study participants, general research protocol, survey and interview questions.

3.4.1 Setting

The setting of this study is comprised of one urban charter school in a Mid-Atlantic state. The school, chartered in 2008, consists of two buildings serving kindergarten through eighth grade.

One building serves kindergarten through third grade students and the other includes fourth through eighth graders. The mission of the school includes an integrated and inclusive approach to education. Departmentalization occurs in both buildings with students in kindergarten through eighth grade rotating through three core courses. In kindergarten through fifth grade, students receive instruction in literacy, math and environmental literacy classes. Environmental literacy is an integrated approach to teaching science, social studies and writing standards. In sixth through eighth grade, students receive instruction in math, science and cultural literacy classes. Cultural literacy includes social studies and English language arts standards. Students also enjoy three non-core classes including: physical education, music and an art and design class. Due to the inclusive focus for special education students, each class is taught by either two educators (one general education and one special education certified) or by one teacher and a teaching assistant (who is also a certified teacher). The co-teaching results in a very low student-teacher ratio of ten-to-one.

The culture of the school involves four guiding principles, one of which is collaboration. All students and teachers are involved in collaborative processes when solving problems or working on projects. The collaborative process is taught explicitly and involves respectful dialog and listening to other individual's perspectives. Students of all racial and cultural backgrounds work together on a daily basis. The school services a range of student demographics and includes a diverse population according to race and socio-economic status. There is a 32% minority population including students from Asian, African American, Hispanic, and multi-racial backgrounds (Pennsylvania Department of Education, 2014a).

However, student interactions in the school are not always collaborative and positive. As a researcher, I have a professional relationship with the school and chose this particular setting

due to known experiences of conflict. According to the Safe Schools Report for the 2013-2014 school year, of the 604 total students there were 78 incidents of conflict stemming from 40 offenders, or 6.6% of the total school population (Pennsylvania Department of Education, 2014b). In Pennsylvania, the percentage of the total student population involved in reported incidents is 2.7% (Pennsylvania Department of Education, 2014b). For the research setting, the reported incidents include: ethnic intimidation, harassment, fighting, threats and disorderly conduct. A majority (41%) of the incidents in the research setting involved fighting. Across the state, only 18% of the reported incidents involved fighting (Pennsylvania Department of Education, 2014b). Discussions with members of the faculty indicate that lesser forms of conflict, including negative teacher-student interactions, do not result in office referrals and state documentation, however, also occur within the setting.

In order to mitigate negative incidents and conflict, the school provides information to staff, students and families. For example, the school's handbook includes the discipline policy and information regarding a positive behavior intervention and support system (PBIS) utilized in both schools. The staff also receives yearly refreshers from their administrators on PBIS techniques (defining expectations, re-teaching expectations, positive reinforcement techniques, etc.). The school's discipline practices involve re-teaching expectations, limiting suspension in the lower school and utilizing restorative practices in both buildings. For example, when students are involved in a verbal confrontation with a peer, mediation practices help the students understand why they engaged in the conflict and how they can keep the conflict from resurfacing. Similarly, teachers receive professional development annually. One relevant session on de-escalation occurred during the 2013-2014 school year. The session, led by the

school's counselors, involved recognizing the emotions students experience during either crisis or conflict.

3.4.2 Participants

The study included the selection of participants following purposeful sampling techniques. According to Creswell (2013) researchers use purposeful sampling techniques “because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study” (p.156). In purposeful sampling, the main decisions include: who is studied, the form of sampling and how many participants to include. The potential participants in this study included all 57 teachers and teaching assistants working in the identified setting. Participant roles included: general education, special education, art, music, health education, physical education and teaching assistants. The rationale for including teaching assistants included both their certification level and role as co-teachers in classrooms. Potential subgroups participant fell into are: area of certification, gender, years of experience and years worked for the current employer.

The sample offered a wide range of perspectives and a depth of possible negative teacher-student interaction experiences. In the upper school, students in fourth through eighth grade, experience a more traditional middle school model. Students learn how to transition to and from classes on their own, share lockers and work towards independence from their teachers. Students also have a more structured recess, called social, in 4th and 5th grade and activity in 6th through 8th grade. During this time, students engage in structured games like soccer, hockey and basketball. In the lower school, students in kindergarten through third grade experience a more traditional elementary culture. For example, students walk around the building quietly, in rows behind their teacher. They learn to work together and share materials and have less structured

free time. Students have both recess and a creative free play time built into their day. Both buildings, however, have a strong sense of community with regular large-group community meetings to discuss concerns and celebrate student work. Including participants from both buildings adds to the potential range of negative teacher-student interactions due to the range of cultures across the settings.

Excluded from the list of participants are substitute teachers, interns, student teachers, administrators, counselors and office managers. The exclusions occur due to the nature of the research questions and aim of gathering teacher perspectives on the emotional labor experienced in negative teacher-student interactions.

Teaching requires both the expression and suppression of emotions each day. According to Brown (2011), “emotional labor exists in the daily work of teachers” (p. 79). To provide a richer participant description, a description of the participants and their roles in the research setting is included.

The educators in this study included 26 teachers of varying specializations and backgrounds from both the upper and lower school at the research site. Of the 26 educators, 20 were female and six were male. This breakdown reflects the national average, where, according to the United States Department of Labor, 80% of elementary and middle school teachers in the United States are female (2014).

Educators identified the amount of years they worked in the field of education and more specifically, the amount of time they worked for their current employer. When asked about years of service, the longest any participants spent in the field of education was ten to fifteen years (3 participants or 12%). Most of the educators (17 or 65%) worked in education for five to

ten years and the next highest category (6 or 23%) worked less than five years. The time the educators spent working for their current employer varied (Table 7).

The educators identified their field within education: general education (18 or 69%), special education (4 or 15%), or specialist (4 or 15%). This particular research site departmentalizes classes from kindergarten through eighth grade. Due to this specialization, educators further identified their area of content specialization (Table 8). The content areas differ from traditional school settings due to an integrated approach to certain subjects. For example, the site teaches Environmental Literacy, which is an integrated approach to teaching social studies, science and writing content strands. Educators were asked to identify site-specific content rather than having teachers select a best fit from a more traditional model.

Table 7 Breakdown of Years Worked for Current Employer

Years Worked for Employer	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
1	1	3.85%
2	8	30.77%
2.5	1	3.85%
3	5	19.23%
4	6	23.08%
5	3	11.54%
6	2	7.69%

Table 8 *Participant Content Specialization*

Content Area	Number of Participants	% of the Sample	% of the Discipline Population
Art/Design Education	3	11.53%	75.00%
Cultural Literacy (Social Studies, Reading and Writing)	1	3.85%	11.11%
Environmental Literacy (Social Studies, Science and Writing)	5	19.23%	55.56%
Literacy (Reading and Writing)	2	7.69%	15.38%
Math	11	42.31%	64.71%
Physical Education	1	3.85%	50.00%
Science	3	11.53%	100.00%

The 26 participants included 19 educators from the upper (4th – 8th grade) school and 7 from the lower (K – 3rd grade) school. This is equivalent to 46% of the total staff with 56% of the upper school staff and 30% of the lower school staff participating. In relationship to the sample, 73% of the sample is upper school staff and 27% of the sample is lower school staff. For the site, 60% of the total staff is upper school staff and 40% of the staff is lower school staff. The staff breakdown across both schools is helpful when considering the different types of negative interactions that might occur across student age groups. Educators in this study work with students from kindergarten through eighth grade and experience a wide range of negative interactions.

3.4.3 General Protocol

Interview and survey protocols are important to ensure the reliability of collected data. Protocols ensure each survey and interview are conducted in a consistent manner. This protocol includes the initial entry into the site, survey details, where and how interviews were conducted.

For this study, an initial letter to the school CEO requested site approval. Next, the principal of each school invited members of the sample to complete the one-minute survey and 45-minute interview. The invitations (found in Appendix A and B) included the purpose of the study, the approximate length of the survey and interview process, any potential risks or benefits of participation and the plans for using the results.

Prior to the initial survey and interview, I gathered fully informed consent from the participants and assigned each an identification number and pseudonym. Consent documents (found in Appendix C) stated the ethical considerations and that participation included no more than minimal risk.

Additional protocol considerations included how and where the survey and interviews occurred. Distribution of the survey occurred during the interview session (following consent and prior to the first interview questions) due to the length and one-minute time commitment. The purpose of the survey included gathering participant demographic information (found in Appendix D). Once the survey and consent documents were completed, the interview began. An interview protocol document (found in Appendix E), standardized the interview process. The document included the opening and closing statements read prior to the interview, interview questions and possible follow-up instructions for each question. The interview included questions about the emotions participants experienced during interactions with students. An emotion chart (found in Appendix F) was also available for participants if needed. For this

study, interviews were audio taped to aid in the transcription process. Field notes and participant responses documented during the interview sessions served two purposes; they acted as redundant data in case of audio failure and as anecdotal notes on participant non-verbal communication.

The location for the sessions was equally important to the interview tools and documentation. Interviews required a quiet space, away from potential disturbances. For this study, a private, quiet location at each research setting was secured.

3.4.4 Interview and Survey Questions

This study included both structured survey and semi-structured interview questions. The survey questions informed sub group populations within the participant pool. The interview included a variety of exploratory and open-ended questions. According to Seidman (2006), “interviewing provides access to the context of people’s behavior and thereby provides a way for researchers to understand the meaning of that behavior” (p. 10). The survey and interview questions originated from a combination of the literature review, emerging conceptual frameworks and research questions (as seen in Table 9). Due to the exploratory nature of this study and the lack of research in this field, there was not a pre-developed and tested tool available for the study. Pilot interviews conducted with participants mimicking the sample helped to refine the developed tool. Following the pilot study, alterations to both the delivery method and some of the interview questions reflected a need for more in-depth responses. Prior to the pilot study, the delivery method involved a question and answer approach, which did not elicit a wealth of responses. Format modifications resulted in a conversational approach, allowing participants to continue to discuss their interactions with students, offering a more in-depth answer to each question.

Question modification including potential cues or follow up questions to encourage participants to offer in-depth answers and descriptions. The final version of the interview tool is located in Appendix E.

Table 9 *Derivation of the Interview Questions*

Interview Question	Research Question	Framework	Source(s)
IQ 1: Describe the times you have had strong negative feelings in the classroom.	RQ 1: How do educators describe the emotional labor they experience during negative teacher-student interactions?	Emotional Labor During times of contention there are heightened emotions	Coleman et al., 2014 Gillies, 2011 Glomb & Tews, 2004 Grandey, 2000 Gross, 2008 Hochschild, 1983/2012 Jensen, 2005 Moriarty, 2009 Morris & Feldman, 1996 Schutz & Zembylas, 2009 Sutton & Wheatley, 2003
IQ 2: Describe a recent event where you had a negative interaction with a student.	RQ 1: How do educators describe the emotional labor they experience during negative teacher-student interactions?	Emotional Labor	Glomb & Tews, 2004 Grandey, 2000 Gross, 2008 Hochschild, 1983/2012 Morris & Feldman, 1996 Schutz & Zembylas, 2009 Sutton & Wheatley, 2003
IQ 3: How did you feel during that event? Can you describe your emotions?	RQ 1: How do educators describe the emotional labor they experience during negative teacher-student interactions?	Emotional Labor Surface and Deep Acting During times of contention there are heightened emotions	Coleman et al., 2014 Gillies, 2011 Glomb & Tews, 2004 Grandey, 2000 Gross, 2008 Hochschild, 1983/2012 Jensen, 2005 Moriarty, 2009 Morris & Feldman, 1996 Schutz & Zembylas, 2009 Sutton & Wheatley, 2003
IQ 4: What were your visible facial expressions during the event?	RQ 2: Are there emotional display rules educators report they follow during negative teacher-student interactions? What are those rules?	Emotional Display Rules	Gross, 2008 Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006 Kitching, 2009 Mackenzie, 2012 Schutz & Lee, 2014 Schutz & Pekrun, 2007 Sutton & Wheatley, 2003 Zembylas, 2005
IQ 5: How would you describe your body language or tone of voice during the event?	RQ 2: Are there emotional display rules educators report they follow during negative teacher-student interactions? What are those rules?	Emotional Display Rules	Gross, 2008 Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006 Kitching, 2009 Mackenzie, 2012 Schutz & Lee, 2014 Schutz & Pekrun, 2007 Sutton & Wheatley, 2003 Zembylas, 2005

Table 9 (Continued)

Interview Question	Research Question	Framework	Source(s)
IQ 6 – 10: Other examples	RQ 1: How do educators describe the emotional labor they experience during negative teacher-student interactions? RQ 2: Are there emotional display rules educators report they follow during negative teacher-student interactions? What are those rules?	Emotional Labor Surface and Deep Acting Emotional Display Rules During times of contention there are heightened emotions	Coleman et al., 2014 Gillies, 2011 Glomb & Tews, 2004 Grandey, 2000 Gross, 2008 Hochschild, 1983/2012 Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006 Jensen, 2005 Kitching, 2009 Mackenzie, 2012 Moriarty, 2009 Morris & Feldman, 1996 Schutz & Lee, 2014 Schutz & Pekrun, 2007 Schutz & Zembylas, 2009 Sutton & Wheatley, 2003 Zembylas, 2005
IQ 11: Can you describe any pre-service training you received on emotions or emotion management?	RQ 3: What training do educators report they receive on the use of emotional display rules during negative teacher-student interactions?	Prior training can aid in de-escalation of negative situations	Alvarez, 2007 Chang, 2009 Kerr & Valenti, 2009 Moriarty, 2009
IQ 12: Can you describe any relevant professional development session from either your current or former employers?	RQ 3: What training do educators report they receive on the use of emotional display rules during negative teacher-student interactions?	Prior training can aid in de-escalation of negative situations	Alvarez, 2007 Chang, 2009 Kerr & Valenti, 2009 Moriarty, 2009
IQ 13: Have you done any research or reading on emotions or emotion management?	RQ 3: What training do educators report they receive on the use of emotional display rules during negative teacher-student interactions?	Prior training can aid in de-escalation of negative situations	Alvarez, 2007 Chang, 2009 Kerr & Valenti, 2009 Moriarty, 2009
IQ 14: How do you think an understanding of the emotions teachers experience during negative teacher-student interactions might influence your work?	RQ 1: How do educators describe the emotional labor they experience during negative teacher-student interactions?	Emotional Labor During times of contention there are heightened emotions Prior training can aid in de-escalation of negative situations	Alvarez, 2007 Chang, 2009 Coleman et al., 2014 Gillies, 2011 Glomb & Tews, 2004 Grandey, 2000 Gross, 2008 Hochschild, 1983/2012 Jensen, 2005 Kerr & Valenti, 2009 Moriarty, 2009 Morris & Feldman, 1996 Schutz & Zembylas, 2009 Sutton & Wheatley, 2003
IQ 15: In what ways can schools assist you in learning about these emotions?	RQ 3: What training do educators report they receive on the use of emotional display rules during negative teacher-student interactions?	Emotional Labor Prior training can aid in de-escalation of negative situations	Alvarez, 2007 Chang, 2009 Glomb & Tews, 2004 Grandey, 2000 Gross, 2008 Hochschild, 1983/2012 Kerr & Valenti, 2009 Moriarty, 2009 Morris & Feldman, 1996 Schutz & Zembylas, 2009 Sutton & Wheatley, 2003

3.5 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Data collection began with the survey and interview process (the primary sources of evidence in this study). Interview documentation included survey responses, interview audio-recordings and anecdotal notes. Following the interviews, the transcription process was completed by a combination of personal transcriptions and a transcription service. All transcription service documents were reviewed to ensure accuracy. The collected data was imported and stored electronically using a qualitative software program.

For this study, password protected and locked files housed all documentation. Creswell (2013) claims that electronic programs provide for “security by storing the database and files together in a single file” (p. 204). Regular backups of data also increased both security and reliability.

The confidentiality of the participants was also an important consideration during data collection. Mertens (2010) asserts that ensuring confidentiality means that the “privacy of individuals will be protected in that the data they provide will be handled and reported in such a way that they cannot be associated with them personally” (p. 332). To increase confidentiality participants received an identification number and pseudonym, which was kept in a separate, locked file. All collected documents (surveys, notes, audio files and transcripts) included just the participant identification number, not their name. As an extra precaution, participants withheld identifiable information on specific children and peers during the interviews.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Data collection and storage next led to analysis using Dedoose. Analysis followed the interpretive description methods described by Thorne (2008). According to Thorne (2008), the heart of interpretive description is to “generate new insights that shape new inquiries as well as applications of ‘evidence’ to practice” (p.35). Although this research did not provide for new theory, collected data generated themes and patterns relevant to the research questions.

The first step of data analysis involved immersing myself in the data. Immersion included reading transcripts of the interviews and the interview notes multiple times to “get a sense of the whole database” (Creswell, 2013, p. 183). Utilization of both Dedoose and a research journal allowed for recorded notes on emerging patterns and concepts. Labeling each memo with a concept heading flagged meaningful excerpts for later analysis. Using a constant comparative method, emerging concepts and patterns were tested against collected data by rereading transcriptions and reviewing memos (Mertens, 2010). Corbin and Strauss (2008) assert, “using comparisons brings out properties, which in turn can be used to examine the incident or object in the data” (p. 75). In the software program, a generated data collection matrix formed a visual representation of the data. This matrix facilitated the identification of emerging codes and patterns to guide further analysis. Analysis ultimately included the formation of questions, pattern generation and testing new ideas against existing data and memos.

Coding further identified the emerging patterns in the data. Open coding techniques formed the development of the first set of codes. In this stage, codes formed from the data based on individual words, lines or incidents that repeated in the transcripts or memos. Additionally, the initial codes included the main focus of the research questions. The codes first included:

emotional labor, emotions, emotional displays and training. When retesting initial codes against the data, new codes emerged. The new codes included more detailed versions of the initial codes and involved grouping the data according to themes. For example, the emotional labor code was further broken down into; emotion phrases/words, emotional displays, suppressed emotions and the work done to manage emotions. These new or axial codes, were then tested illuminating new patterns and themes. For example emotional displays were further broken down into: intensity or situation, matched to felt or natural emotion and mismatched to felt or natural emotion. The coding process informed the formation of relationships between participant interviews and the emergence of new patterns summarized according to each research question.

I remained conscious of the limitations, dependability, credibility and confirmability concerns of the study throughout the data analysis stage. The constructivist paradigm uses these parallel constructs to the post positivist's notions of reliability, validity and objectivity (Mertens, 2010). Transparency and proper documentation maintains dependability. One example of proper transparency was to note any changes to data collection or interview questions in my research journal. The only changes to the interview questions occurred following the pilot study. Describing personal thoughts on conceptual frameworks prior to collecting data and noting any changes in a peer-reviewed journal throughout the analysis process also increases dependability.

Creswell's (2013) process for increasing credibility also includes "extensive time spent in the field, the detailed thick descriptions, and the closeness of the researcher to participants in the study" (p. 250). Achievement of these credibility strategies involved multiple visits to the research site, prolonged engagement and persistent observations. The number of participants in the study and the length of each interview led to the need for multiple visits to the site over the

course of a two-week period. During interviews notes involving observations of the participants increased the quality of descriptions utilized in analysis.

Mertens (2010), suggests a specific approach to confirmability. Research confirmability occurs when the data is an accurate interpretation of the phenomenon under investigation and not a “figment of the researcher’s imagination” (p. 389). Maintaining appropriate data collection procedures and providing a roadmap for others to trace the data back to the source accomplishes this task. Memoing also aids this process. Memoing, is “reading and thinking and making notes about your thoughts” (p. 425). Memoing occurred throughout the data collection and analysis process providing an “audit trail to document the progression of the study, as well as changes that occurred and the context for those changes” (p. 429). I focused on all three constructs, dependability, credibility and confirmability during the many stages of data collection and analysis.

4.0 FINDINGS

The primary research aim of this study was to describe how teachers report they experience emotional labor during negative teacher-student interactions, the display rules they exhibit during those interactions and any relevant training they may or may not have received previously. To provide an overall picture, this chapter begins with a description of the most frequently coded interview responses. The last section includes a discussion on the interpretation of the teachers' views, starting from the perspectives of their emotional labor experiences during negative teacher-student interactions.

4.1 DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW RESPONSES

To provide the reader with a complete picture of the findings, I include a brief section about the comments most frequently offered, by research questions, including counts (Sandelowski, 2001). Following this overview, I offer the interpretive findings.

4.1.1 How do educators describe the emotional labor they experience during negative teacher-student interactions?

Without explicitly being asked about emotional labor, the participants expressed that managing their emotions during negative interactions entailed difficult work. They provided examples of the emotions they experienced during negative interactions, detailed the different types of negative situations they encountered and offered examples of the work completed to manage their emotions during difficult situations.

Of the 26 participants, 21 (81%) referred to the work they complete to express or suppress their emotions. These references to emotional labor occurred 49 times across the 21 participants. One participant, Kristen, stated, “I work really hard to try to keep a straight face.” Another participant, Jill, explained, “I know that I am starting to get angry and I’m trying to just control what’s coming out of my mouth.” Educators detailed the suppression of certain emotions during that work. Of the 26 participants, 15 (58%) mentioned suppressing emotions for a total of 28 occurrences. Rhonda discussed suppressing frustration with, “I hope that I do a good job of covering the frustration with some kind of silliness and optimism.” Chrissy stated, “I always would try not to show a lot of emotion in front of the other kids because you don't want them to see that you're scared or upset.” The participants mentioned the work they completed to express or suppress their emotions, but did not categorize the work as either surface or deep acting as is done in most research. This omission could be due to the lack of emotional labor knowledge or the lack of training on the common language used to discuss emotional labor.

The types of emotions that educators like Chrissy and Rhonda, experienced during emotional labor, and the sources of those emotions, varied across participants. All except one participant identified frustration as one of the emotions they felt during negative interactions

with students. The two other emotions shared with over half of the participants were anger and annoyance. Table 10 illustrates the ten most frequently expressed emotions.

Table 10 *Participant Emotions: Ten Emotions Most Frequently Expressed by the Participants*

Emotion	Number of Participants Using the Emotion Word	Number of Occurrences
Frustrated	25	51
Annoyed	13	17
Anger	11	16
Disappointed	7	8
Confused	4	5
Shocked	4	5
Fear(ful)	4	4
Sad	4	4
Surprised	3	4
Offended	2	4

Participants' sources of emotions occurred across three main categories: personal struggles, school or adult situations and student situations. Personal struggles related to situations educators were dealing with in their personal lives and were not necessarily school related. The school or adult situations included difficulties educators had in regards to administration, system related concerns or challenges with other educators relating to instructional differences. Personal struggles, mentioned 45 times by 21 of the participants, was a common theme while school or adult-adult related struggles comprised only 16 mentions by 12 participants. The most frequent source of negative emotions involved student situations. All 26 participants described negative

teacher-student interactions a total of 85 times. These interactions were further broken down into five categories:

- 1) Disrespect or Disobedience
- 2) Conflict
- 3) Student Safety Issues or Feelings of Chaos
- 4) Power Struggles
- 5) “The Game”

The most often mentioned source of negative interactions and emotions with students was disrespect or disobedience on the part of the student. An overwhelming majority (24 out of 26 participants) detailed situation involving disrespect or disobedience for a total of 56 instances. Disobedience occurred when educators gave directions multiple times and students failed to listen or students became verbally non responsive to teacher directions. Phillip explained, “it’s kind of frustrating that they’re not responding to calling on them or giving them a direction.” Disrespectful situations occurred when students made verbally rude comments to the educator. Haley explained her example, “I was talking with a student who had just said something relatively disrespectful, I mean it wasn’t over the top, but it was disrespectful. And I was in the process of speaking with them and they just turned around and walked away for me.”

Conflict was the second highest category with 21 participants mentioning it 42 times. Examples in this category included students fighting or arguing with each other or students entering into an argument with the educator.

The third highest cause for negative emotions included student safety issues or experiencing a feeling of chaos in the classroom (20 times by 10 participants). Examples in this category included students experiencing an escalation of behaviors, students experiencing some form of crisis (physical or mental health) or students leaving the classroom.

An infrequent category was power struggles, mentioned eleven times by nine educators. Rhonda illustrated the concept by calling it a, “back and forth...kind of like a power struggle.” Gerry summarized the situation stating, “I think it is because the teacher-student relationship is viewed as hierarchical. Like it’s, usually results or manifests itself in this power struggle.”

One interaction, not frequently discussed (3 instances) but needing further description, was the idea that the situation was a game. Chris mentioned, “it’s like a game with them. And they know my role and I know where they’re coming from.” Gerry also described the emotion work as a game with, “he acts out the only way that he knows to get emotion out of me, which is to play that card that I’m somehow singling him out.”

During the difficult situations experienced by the educators in this study, some expressed the ability to manage their emotions in different ways. Fourteen participants illustrated how they manage their emotions for a total of 25 occurrences. Gina described repeating the message “they’re just a child” to herself to calm down while another participant explains that she pinches her elbows to remind herself to hide her emotions. The work that the educators do to express or suppress their emotions during negative teacher-student interactions during their day involves emotional labor. The educators were able to describe the many different facets of emotional labor including the displays they followed for each situation.

4.1.2 Are there emotional display rules educators report they follow during negative teacher-student interactions? What are those rules?

Each educator was asked to recall their emotional reaction to each negative situation they described. The overall descriptions of educator displays included their facial expressions, body language and tone of voice. No educator described their reactions as following a set of explicit

rules (EDRs) given to them by their employer. The top facial expressions mentioned by participants were surprise or shock (n=8) and anger (n=8). Frustration was another frequently used descriptor for facial expressions (n=7) as was a serious look (n=6) and stern face (n=5). Educators also stated they were not smiling (n=5), showing confusion (n=4), using furrowed eye brows (n=4), or had a straight face (n=4). The body language most often described included: leaning in or walking toward the students (n=9), placing hands on hips (n=6) or standing (n=5). Another posture mentioned included a closed off stance with arms crossed (n=4). One educator called this the “quintessential teacher pose.” When describing their tone of voice, a loud or elevated tone was the most often mentioned (n=18), while the second highest was a calm tone (n=11). The next most frequently mentioned tones were firm or forceful (n=9) and softer or quieter (n=9). Each of the most often mentioned tones seem to be opposites with no one type of tone receiving the most mentions. The educators’ tone, body language and facial expressions are all part of the displays they use during negative teacher-student interactions. The wide variety of examples given indicates that there is not a set of display rules these educators follow for negative teacher-student interactions.

4.1.3 What training do educators report they receive on the use of emotional display rules during negative teacher-student interactions?

When asked about their training on emotions or emotion management, educators in this study covered many topics. They discussed a lack of direct training, gave a variety of direct training examples or spoke about informal or indirect forms of training. Another topic included the importance of training and details for improvement.

Educators indicated the level of training on emotions or emotion management in three categories: pre-service, professional development and personal research. During pre-service training discussions, educators illustrated the lack of training (n=14), felt they received indirect or informal training (n=6), indicated they experienced direct training (n=2), or could not answer the question (n=1). A few educators (n=2) felt they received both indirect and direct training and one educator described relevant training while working for a summer camp. In the category of professional development, educators spoke of a lack of training (n=7), indicated they received indirect or informal training (n=8), described direct training examples (n=7) or suggested they received both informal and direct training (n=4). Educators revealed the personal research completed on the subject, indicating they did not complete any (n=9), describe direct research (n=1) or gave examples that were indirectly related to emotions or emotion management (n=16).

Some educators who stated there was a lack of training on emotions or emotion management explained that other trainings took precedence over emotions and emotion management training. For example, Lori explained, “you definitely learn a lot about instruction and curriculum, but often times those aren’t the real challenges of teaching.” Tom reiterated this feeling by stating, “I think that it’s something that is not discussed. I think there’s a lot of stuff that educators are responsible for, and there’s so many different things that they’ve been trained on.” Some of the educators found it challenging to remember any training, but did not hesitate to explain why this form of training would be important. Tom, who earlier stated he did not receive training explained, “it’s obviously an important aspect to understand, and how to deal with it, how to cope with it, strategies to use and implement when conflict arises is obviously very important.”

The training the educators described fell into two main categories, direct or formal training and indirect or informal training. The most frequently cited direct training was a conflict-resolution training done at the research site by the school's guidance counselor. Overall 10 of the educators spoke about this training, however only four of them were able to give both the name and purpose of the training. The remaining six educators were unsure of all the details but knew it had something to do with student emotion management. The only other direct training mentioned frequently, similar to this training, was a crisis prevention training using de-escalation techniques. The educators attending this form of training (n=4) received it from a variety of employers, including one stating their current employer offered this training. The examples from this training included restraint training and crisis prevention rather than personal emotion management techniques. More often than direct forms of training, indirect or informal training was discussed. There were a total of nineteen different indirect or informal trainings offered by educators. The most often mentioned was personal online research or readings (n=15). The second highest categories were pre-service special education coursework (n=6) and classroom management training (n=6). Three other categories were mentioned five times each, educational psychology coursework, personal wellness training, and positive behavior intervention and support (PBIS) training.

None of the different forms of training mentioned seemed to be adequate to the educators in this study. Most (n=22) remarked that they needed more training and offered suggestions for improvement. The suggestions ranged from the need for formal training on how to manage emotions to just having the ability to acknowledge their emotions in a formal conversation with other colleagues. Overall the need for more formal, direct, training was a common theme from the educators participating in this study.

4.2 INTERPRETIVE FINDINGS

The following sections include the interpretive findings of the study using the coded excerpts discussed previously. The interpretations for this section occur in three main categories the research questions express: emotional labor, emotional display rules and emotional labor training.

4.2.1 Emotional labor as described by educators: “It’s kind of like fake it until I make it there.”

Mackenzie (2012) notes that, “teachers’ emotional experiences are complex” (p.1079). Participants in this study epitomized that conclusion when discussing the emotional labor associated with negative teacher-student interactions. Their descriptions were multifaceted including:

- 1) The work they complete to manage their emotions
- 2) The notion that the work is a game of power struggles with students
- 3) That unpredictable situations sometimes lead to unchecked or gut responses
- 4) Negative consequences of performing emotional labor

Emotional labor involves the expression or suppression of employee emotions in favor of emotional display rules prescribed by an employer (Glomb & Tews, 2004; Hochschild, 1983/2012). Emotional labor discussions involved participants detailing the hard work they completed to keep their students from fully knowing their emotional reactions to certain situations. Rhonda expressed “that’s a lot of processing that’s going on in your brain.” Hargreaves (2000) explains that teachers experience emotional labor during their daily lessons, while trying to engage students but also while trying to “remain(ing) calm and unruffled when

confronted by threatening student behavior” (p.814). The participants recounted numerous negative student interactions and expounded on their emotional displays. Emotional Display Rules (EDRs) are the norms of emotional expressions given to employees (Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005). The participants did not discuss their displays in terms of explicit rules. Instead, each participant explained how their display may or may not have matched the emotions they felt and the work they did to mask their emotions when necessary.

Kitching (2009) researched teacher’s negative experiences and emotions through the lens of exploring how they help to define a teacher’s work identity. Through his work he found that “teachers both submit to and master emotional propriety simultaneously” (Kitching, 2009, p.148). The findings of this study add to his body of research focusing on how teachers experience emotions and emotional labor, but also use it to get what they need out of students. The emotional labor during negative interactions with students not only took work, but was also seen as a game or power struggle between the teacher and students. The explanations included details about student knowledge of their triggers and how they were using those triggers to get favorable responses. Another way participants described this same experience included a power struggle between the teacher and student. The struggles involved both the teacher and student working hard with their emotions, going back and forth with responses, and ultimately, trying to meet their specific needs. One teacher, reflecting on this work, shared that at some point she realized the interactions were “all about my emotion, not at all about reality.” This realization then helped her frame future negative interactions with students.

An additional description of the emotional labor experienced during negative teacher-student interactions included responses that were unpredictable. Some participants felt that during negative interactions with students they did not know what to expect and ended up with a

“gut reaction,” not one that was based on any training or an acceptable display rule. These natural emotion responses were unchecked responses to their interactions, not the product of surface or deep acting. Participants found unpredictable situations difficult to manage emotionally and did not have a predetermined bank or set of responses. When these unpredictable emotional responses were negative, the participants expressed disapproval for their own responses and wished they had other ways to respond to students.

The negative interactions teachers experienced with students and the emotional labor associated with the interactions was another source of emotions for the participants. They detailed the consequences of their reactions and how they felt that their relationships with students hinged on the work they completed with their emotional responses. Some participants explained that their personal feelings during a negative interaction actually made the situation worse emotionally. Participants discussed trying too hard and becoming too emotionally involved with their students and expressed feeling let down by their students’ negative interactions. One teacher surmised, “if you’re not emotionally invested I think that’s a poor quality of an educator. If you’re overly invested, I think it can have a pretty adverse effect on you.” The participants built strong relationships with their students then found it hard to distance themselves from even the minor negative interactions.

Overall, participants had negative feelings when something went wrong with their students and they reacted to it emotionally. Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006) state “emotional labor is what teachers perform when they engage in caring relationships but they have to induce, neutralize or inhibit their emotions so as to render them appropriate to situations” (p.123). The participants in the study engaged in this work and experienced negative consequences emotionally. Rhonda states, “I take it way too personally and feel like I’m not doing my job.”

The negative consequences detailed in the literature include: burnout, stress, alienation, cynicism, self-esteem management, and emotional disorientation (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). The participants in the study did not go into detail about the consequences of emotional labor other than to express that the work caused them to experience negative emotions such as frustration and disappointment. According to the findings of the study and Isenbarger and Zembylas' work, the negative consequences of emotional labor encountered during negative teacher-student interactions is an avenue for further investigation.

4.2.2 Display Rules for negative teacher-student interactions: “I work really hard to try to keep a straight face”

Employees refer to display rules to determine appropriate and expected external emotional responses in the workplace. Teaching, unlike other service occupations has limited research on existing display rules. One research aim of this study was to explore display rules for teachers during negative teacher-student interactions.

Mackenzie (2012) found that for special education teachers, “the displayed emotions are often consistent with how they are feeling; therefore teachers are not merely surface acting, but engaged in ‘sincere emotion giving’” (p.1069). For the participants in this study, the ability to match displays to felt emotions was mixed, displays were changed to signify various outcomes, the intensity of the experience affected the display, there were multiple displays for the same situation and the displays were learned from various sources. The findings relate to earlier studies and the conclusion that there is limited knowledge about displays and the display rules in the education community.

The participants in the study identified themselves and their emotional displays in two categories as shown in Figure 3. The first group stated that they were too expressive and could not hide their emotions. Rhonda explained, “I have probably a little bit of an issue with not having a poker face.” The second category explained that they were able to remain calm in any situation, hiding the necessary expressive or negative emotions. When participants were remaining calm, their displays did not match the emotions they experienced. In the first category, teachers that were too expressive were further broken down into two categories: those with an emotional awareness and those without an emotional awareness. Participants with an emotional awareness either stated that they felt they should hide their emotions but did not actually hide them, or matched their emotional displays to their emotional responses. The group lacking an emotional awareness explained that they always show their emotions, however, the emotions they expressed feeling did not match those that they detailed in their displays.

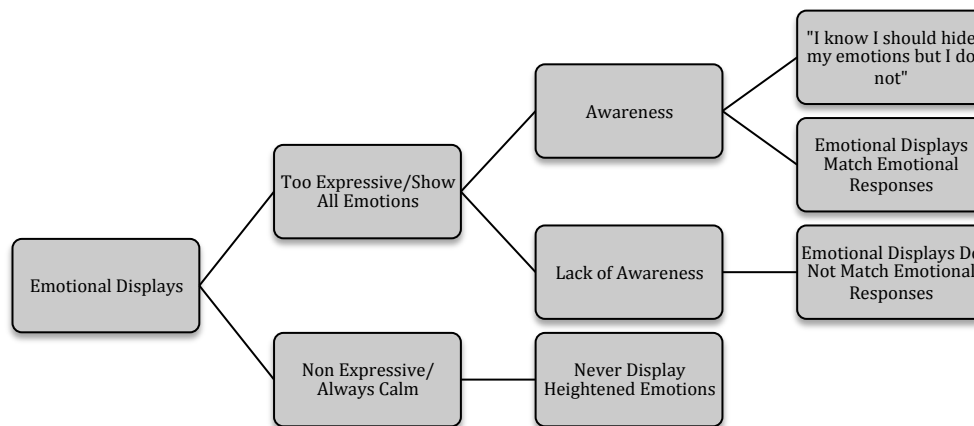


Figure 3. Participant display groups. A model of the emotional displays experienced by the participants

The emotions teachers experience and the emotions teachers express do not always coincide; even if the teacher explains they have trouble hiding their emotions or feel that they are too expressive. Teachers also feel ashamed or upset when felt, negative emotions match displays unless a student's safety is in jeopardy. This speaks to the complexity of emotions and emotional labor for educators. Teachers might not realize that they are experiencing emotional labor and actually hiding certain emotions or expressing certain ones to get a desired outcome from the student in a negative interaction. The need for training on emotional labor is imperative, so teachers understand the concept, when they use it and which displays are appropriate for different situations. Having explicit EDRs for each type of situation a teacher encounters may limit confusion and allow teachers to focus on surface or deep acting during the encounter. Without the training, the confusion will continue to lead to negative results such as the participant's expressed feelings of guilt, shame and disappointment when they express perceived negative or unacceptable emotions.

Participants in this study also expressed the ability and desire to change their displays to signify different stances in the classroom. Some participants displayed what they called the "teacher look" or "teacher pose" when they wanted to signify power or authority. Similarly, they used terms to signify a change in their demeanor, to a more serious look or stance, in order to try to mitigate certain behaviors in the classroom. Based on prior experiences and implicit EDRs for their school, participants were able to recognize a need to change their displays to a more calm approach when behaviors were escalating or they could tell students were under emotional stress. The ability to recognize a need to change displays based on the situation signifies that educators understand that their emotional displays are important and will cause a reaction from their students.

The participants indicated that they not only needed to change their displays based on the situation, but that the intensity of the situation also determined their displays. Ultimately, the participants' appraisal of the situation, not an explicit EDR, indicated the type of display they followed. Hargreaves (2000) concurred stating, "emotion, cognition and action, in fact, are integrally connected" (p.812). He went on to indicate, "emotions and impulse narrow down the infinite range of choices we have in human action" (p.812). The participants in the study did not necessarily have all the same display rules for each situation, but most correlated the intensity of the situation to the intensity of the necessary emotional display. Schutz and Zembylas (2009) argue in a review of the relevant literature, "the judgments we make about our environment are viewed as driving the emotions we experience" (p.102). This goes against the one display rule that many participants indicated was necessary, which was to remain calm in escalating situations.

Some participants not only matched the intensity of a negative interaction with their emotional displays, but also recognized that within one negative interaction they may have to display different emotions to different groups of students. This dichotomy of emotional displays led to the individuals feeling trapped between emotional displays. Some explained they wanted to keep the entire class calm and reassure them that they were in control of the situation while also ensuring that an escalated student stopped their behavior and realized it was inappropriate. Others described situations where they did not want the offending student to know how upset they were with their behavior, but wanted the rest of the class to know that they were upset and that the behavior was unacceptable. Trying to complete both displays at the same time resulted in a great deal of work for the participants. The complexity of displays a teacher encounters

within one classroom deserves attention and training in order to limit the negative consequences felt by the educators.

4.2.3 Training reports on the use of emotional display rules during negative teacher-student interactions: “I don’t think we got any of that.”

Teachers report receiving various types of training on the use of emotional displays during negative teacher-student interactions. A majority of the participants identified a lack of explicit training for pre-service, professional development sessions. Instead, they indicated the existence of more informal conversations, mentors, and other forms of training that they used in order to identify ways they should respond emotionally during such interactions. A few cases existed where teachers completed research on their own or even used personal therapy as an indicator of how they should respond in different emotionally charged situations. These many forms of training had one thing in common; they were mainly reactionary measures in contrast to helping teachers create proactive strategies for coping with negative emotions.

The types of pre-service training participants expounded upon comprised special education classes, educational psychology courses or revolved around conversations with mentor teachers. The lack of explicit training during pre-service coursework was staggering. A large portion of pre-service training focused on student emotions and their connections to development and learning. Missing was the connection between teacher emotions and student outcomes. Pre-service teachers enter the work force without fully understanding how their personal emotions and displays may impact students. The presence of, and training on, explicit EDRs may help educators begin to understand these connections. College and university education programs cannot continue to overlook this essential and crucial training. Educators cannot continue to rely

on chance connections or mentors for their emotional training and awareness. Participants repeatedly voiced their opinions, wishing they had a course or training on appropriate emotional displays prior to their first job. They felt the training would help them navigate their personal emotions and displays more effectively.

Professional development or during-service training was another area where participants felt they lacked explicit training. Discussions with other teachers, administrators and even personal experience with specific students became their on-the-job training for emotional displays. Trainings allowed the participants to learn about emotions and highly charged situations, but did not directly speak to emotional displays. Training in this category included mental health issues, special education classes for specific disabilities, crisis management training and even de-escalation training. The difficulty, however, is that educators must make the connections to their emotions and displays themselves. The de-escalation training was the closest to explicit training on display rules for negative teacher-student interactions. The scope of this training was mainly regarding the student responses in negative situations, which tended to be a common theme for all the trainings discussed.

Educators indicated that they currently receive implicit training, but are asking for more explicit training. Explicit emotional labor training would allow teachers to focus on their emotions and the human relationships involved in their teaching rather than pedagogy and content. Emotions and human relationships add to a teacher's identity and role fulfillment (O'Connor, 2008). The educators in this study also understand that emotions are important and would like to learn more so they can help students feel successful even in negative interactions. The ability to learn more about emotions and the labor necessary to express or suppress them at work can be important for a teacher's personal growth. O'Connor (2008) asserted, "the link

between the professional and the personal must surely imply that there cannot be any real professional development without personal development” (p. 125). The work to include emotion training for educators can take on the role of personal development along with professional development.

5.0 DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Teaching requires emotional work. Teachers share the joy of a student learning a new concept and in the frustration over a negative interaction. According to Schutz and Zembylas (2009), “teaching requires a tremendous amount of energy to know what you feel” (p.109). The emotion work and energy expressed signify a teacher’s experience of emotional labor. The main contributions of this study include a description of participants’ emotional labor and any relevant training or lack of training received on the process of emotional labor during negative teacher-student interactions. Another key contribution is the uncertainty surrounding EDRs for teachers during negative teacher-student interactions. This chapter discusses the findings and limitations, implications for practice, and offers recommendations for future research.

5.1 DISCUSSION

Emotional labor occurs during teacher-student interactions and involves challenging work on the part of the teacher. The work performed involves experiencing and then either expressing or suppressing emotions based on perceived standards and norms. According to the definition and seminal work on emotional labor, educators experience emotional labor much like any other service industry (Brown, 2011; Hochschild 1983/2012; Schutz & Zembylas, 2009). What separates educators from other service industries, however, is that after experiencing emotional

labor with a student (client), they then engage with that client everyday for the remainder of the school year (Kerr & Brown, 2015). Many other service occupations involve a one-time experience with a client or at least a break between visits from the client. Educators are not afforded that luxury; instead, they experience client interactions daily, even in the face of continued negative interactions and emotional labor.

Most teachers admit to experiencing and suppressing negative emotions during student interactions in the absence of relevant training. The absence of training leads to a wide range of emotional displays and a sense of confusion surrounding appropriate responses. This confusion leads to additional negative emotions associated with any one particular incident. Educational leaders are in a position to end this cycle by training teachers on the many aspects of emotional labor.

One avenue for training is through professional development for practicing educators. During these training sessions educators can learn a common language for their emotional labor experiences. According to Kerr and Brown (2015) educators yearn for this language and the ability to discuss their experiences (p.5). Educator training can include describing emotional labor and the subsequent constructs of EDRs, surface and deep acting. During training, explicit EDRs can be developed as a collaborative effort, or disseminated to the faculty from administration. Educators can also learn how both surface and deep acting might help them accomplish the expected displays. The ability to discuss whether their felt emotions match their displays (emotional harmony) or whether their feelings and displays do not match (emotional dissonance) is important to helping educators understand the outcomes of each type of acting. This aids understanding and their ability to process their emotions and hopefully limits their confusion surrounding what is expected of them as educators.

Another distinct avenue for training occurs at the pre-service level. Teachers express that this is a crucial time for training on emotions and emotion management. Not surprisingly, pre-service training focuses on content delivery and classroom management techniques. What is surprising, however, is the overwhelming sense from teachers that this is not enough. They understand that teaching requires emotional work and yearn for a place and time to discuss this work (Kerr & Brown, 2015). They feel that having such knowledge prior to entering the workforce would help alleviate some of the challenges facing teachers daily. This finding was also apparent to Kerr and Brown (2015) including, “the resounding call for teacher education programs to incorporate training on teachers’ emotional work, which may help to curtail teachers’ isolation and stress in the workplace” (p. 6). As a K-12 educational leader, although you cannot control pre-service programs, it is important to advocate for balance between content, pedagogy and emotional training.

In education, there is an overwhelming sense that student emotions are important. Understanding those emotions and how they connect to the larger classroom community is also important. The missing piece, however, continues to be the teacher’s emotions and their displays in different situations. Sutton and Wheatly (2003) assert, “the power of emotions when teaching and the difficulty teachers have in regulating their own emotions, especially negative emotions, are rarely discussed” (p.336). One possible explanation for this omission is that educators are afraid to discuss negative emotions. They do not want to discuss anger or frustration with a student or situation involving students. This unwillingness may come from the current views of teaching and the culture of schools. The culture of schools includes an ideal teacher that is professional yet caring, does not get angry, nor shows negative emotions to others during their workday. According to O’Connor (2008), a teacher’s commitment to the profession and

professional identity even develops from their “individual beliefs about their role in caring for students” (p.118). Schools have become a place of caring for students and the inability to discuss negative emotions may be limited by this view. Some of the participants in this study voiced this concern. Participants knew they needed a safe space to discuss their emotions and even to discuss their possibly inappropriate reactions. A safe space to them was one where they could discuss negative emotions and reactions without the fear of receiving a negative evaluation or performance review. Their goal was not to get an unsatisfactory rating, but instead, to better understand what to do the next time they are in certain negative situations so they do not resort to “snapping or yelling.”

Although there is a wide range of reported emotions, one common emotion, frustration, stands out. Teacher frustration occurs for many different reasons, but is ultimately felt when there is an imbalance in the classroom. An example of such an imbalance occurs when a teacher’s ideal situation or environment does not match the reality of the day. Other examples include the power struggles teachers feel in the classroom and repeated infractions by the same student.

The preponderance of frustration in negative teacher-student interactions is concerning based on the current literature. According to Karn and Weitz (1955), “frustration occurs only when there is a clear-cut stoppage of goal-directed activity by an obstacle that is difficult or impossible to overcome or circumvent” (p.152). The presence of frustration itself can explain personal reactions to situations and is also known to be cumulative (Karn & Weitz, 1955). This means that a teacher who would not normally become frustrated by an interaction with a student, might in fact display frustration and other negative emotions after the same experience is encountered numerous times. Frustration at work can also lead to burnout. According to Leiter,

Bakker and Maslach (2014), “people do not simply shrug off frustrations at work, but react in ways that are reflected in their energy (exhaustion), involvement (cynicism), and efficacy (p. 1). Continued frustration can lead to an decrease in overall job satisfaction and retention. Schmidt, Timti, Levine and Testa (2010), also researched frustration and found that the experience of frustration limits your ability to adapt to situations. The experience of frustration during an interaction leads to *response-focused strategies* rather than *problem-focused strategies* when trying to overcome the obstacle (Schmidt et al., 2010).

Educational leaders should work to limit the presence of frustration in educators if they want to increase the resiliency of the teaching force. Allowing teachers time to discuss their frustrations and offer trainings on the necessary emotional labor when one experiences frustration is one way to accomplish this goal. The common language of emotional labor allows educators the ability to discuss their feelings without fear that they are not doing their job or being the caring teacher society expects. Knowing that other teachers experience the same emotions and that there is a way to appropriately respond may also limit confusion and the added negative emotions teachers feel in their unchecked responses to frustration. Further implications and suggestions for helping educators navigate emotional labor experienced during their day follow the offered limitations.

5.2 LIMITATIONS

Prior to discussing the larger implications of this study’s findings, it is imperative to review its limitations. While the data collection and analysis plan reduced the number of potential limitations, some do exist. The main limitation is the generalizability of the study findings. The

small sample size (26 participants) and use of only one research site limits conclusions to describing the phenomenon under investigation as a representation of the educators studied. The site's culture of collaboration may also limit the generalizability to other schools that may not have such an open community structure. The findings then, represent a specific relationship to the site under investigation, the time the study was completed and the perspectives of the participants (Thorne, 2008). The purposeful sampling technique and inclusion of different types of educators attempted to increase the ability to make larger claims. However, further research is needed to ensure the conclusions are representative of a larger population of educators.

Another set of limitations is in regards to the type of questions asked of the participants. Questions asked participants to recall past events and give descriptions of their reactions to a negative encounter with a student. Phrasing of the questions encouraged participants to recall recent events; however, the time elapsed since the encounters may have altered participants' memory of the events and their reactions to them. Questions allowing participants to offer their personal and unique perspective into situations could have also skewed data to follow social norms. According to Thorne (2008), "we are well aware that 'what' we talk about and 'how' we talk about it are highly socially constructed" (p.128). Educators may have altered responses to questions regarding their emotional responses if they felt their reactions were too negative or did not follow the social conventions for a teacher-student relationship. Reviewing participant confidentiality safeguards this possibility, however, it is still a limitation to consider.

Another limitation encapsulates the amount of data gathered. The triangulation of data in this study included analyzing the set of interviews against each other repeatedly, reviewing the available literature, and reviewing memos and personal logs. Increasing the amount of data collected, or the time over which it was collected might increase the validity of the findings.

Ways to increase the data include: conducting member checks of transcripts, including focus groups after the initial analysis phase is completed or conducting multiple interviews with the participants over time. The study aim was exploratory and descriptive in nature, not intending to generate a hypothesis or new theory, mitigating the need for copious amounts of data. This limitation should help frame the next phase of research, allowing for more data or more data over time to validate the findings.

5.3 IMPLICATIONS

This section details the implications of the study's findings for both research and practice. The findings address the current gap in the literature and suggest avenues for future research. The implications for practice include training possibilities and additional intervention research.

5.3.1 Implications for Research

Current literature and research on emotional labor attempts to define, further clarify and make claims regarding the presence of emotional labor and the outcomes of performing emotional labor in many service industries. Judge et al. (2009) claim that emotional labor is a dynamic process with variability dependent on participants. This claim encourages further and constant research into the evolving topic of emotional labor. One field with minimal existing research that warrants further emotional labor study is the field of education.

Current educational research aids in the analysis, explanation and interpretation of classroom management techniques and student behaviors. Research also connects positive

learning environments and positive student outcomes (Hinton et al, 2008; Schutz & Pekrun, 2007). There is also research stating that teachers experience emotional labor (Brown, 2011). The connection between emotional labor and the management of conflict and the creation of positive learning environments comprises the research gap under investigation in this study. The study attempts to close the gap by providing descriptive research into the emotions teachers experience during conflict, the displays they use during conflict and their reports on training on the topic. Due to the exploratory nature of the study and the suggested limitations, further research is necessary to attempt to make generalizations regarding necessary display rules for teachers to follow during negative interactions with students. Potential subsequent steps include observations of teachers using displays and studies using larger sample sizes or multiple research sites. Future study might include a pre and post intervention study using training on display rules as the intervention. Posttests might help determine the affect of the training on conflicts in the classroom and on the outcomes for educators such as burnout and exhaustion.

Another area of future research is the investigation of the outcomes of performing emotional labor during negative interactions with students. Current emotional labor research attempts to explain the effects of emotional labor on both the employee and the customer. In service industries and specifically in education, research indicates employee outcomes include job satisfaction rates, burn out and retention rates (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hirschfeld, 1983/2012; Steinberg & Figart, 1999; Wharton 2009). Education research is missing investigations into student outcomes of the performance of emotional labor. Research into student perspectives increases the overall knowledge base of emotional labor in education. Students are one group of stakeholders for the education service industry. Stakeholder perspectives are important to other service industries, and must be kept in mind for education

research. Potential areas of focus here include observing student reactions to different teacher displays and gaining their perspectives on teacher displays and their intensities through interviews.

In summary, the current study attempted to close the main research gap in understanding the emotional labor inherent to conflict in the classroom. The exploratory study offered participant perspectives on the emotions they experienced, the work they completed to express or suppress emotions during conflict and the training or lack of training received throughout their careers. The findings have implications for the practice at the research site; however, further investigation would allow for future generalizability of findings.

5.3.2 Implications for Practice

The aim of this study was to further the research and discussion of emotional labor in education. The study attempted to close the gap and inform future research on the emotional display rules necessary for teachers to engage in during times of negative conflict in schools. As stated previously, the findings of this study contribute one perspective on this front and offer suggestions for future research. In addition to the research implications, the findings have practical implications for the field of education in three main areas: teacher training, emotional display rules and professional community building practices. As an educational leader, I feel my findings have practical implications that help redefine what it means to be a “good teacher” and help teachers understand how emotions and personal development are just as important as professional development.

Teachers have interactions with students daily. Some of the interactions are positive and some, like the ones educators shared in this study, are negative. With each type of situation, an

educator experiences an emotional reaction. Overreacting emotionally to a negative encounter in the classroom can exacerbate the situation (Maag, 2008). Proper training for teachers helps them to not only understand and appraise different situations in order to choose a management technique, but also helps them to understand their emotional reactions. Training for teachers should occur during pre-service instruction, professional development and personal development. Teachers in this study identified the lack of direct and explicit training and also expressed a need for both pre-service training and on-going professional development.

It is important for pre-service programs to consider encompassing not only curriculum and management training, but also an understanding of the emotions you will experience as a teacher in a classroom. Being prepared prior to entering the workforce may mitigate the feelings of confusion and frustration expressed by the educators in this study. Participant suggestions for this training include role playing, video analysis and even personal therapy to fully understand personal emotions. Understanding personal emotions is the first step in personal development tied to professional work and growth.

Continued professional development is crucial to an understanding of emotional labor. Due to the varied display rules and emotional geographies of different districts, this work is important to do at the building or district level. Building on the work of Chang (2009), and the findings from this study, professional development should include: situation appraisal training, de-escalation strategies, identification of explicit display rules, emotional regulation strategies for surface or deep acting and classroom management techniques. Each training on its own is important to a successful classroom, and many already occur in schools. What is missing is presenting all five strategies in tandem. Utilizing all the different trainings together or in succession allows educators to grasp the emotional connections between their work and positive

student outcomes. This culminates in an educator understanding the connection between personal and professional development.

A portion of the necessary training includes the identification of emotional display rules. The current research indicates that teachers identify display rules through experience and indirect conversations or training. To follow display rules successfully, they must be explicit. This requires schools to identify display rules they require for teachers to follow during negative teacher-student interactions and then to disseminate the information to staff. Once the staff understands the display rules, the next phase of the training includes how to perform both surface and deep acting to display the necessary emotions. Preliminary ideas for display rules to follow during negative teacher-student interactions gathered from the study findings include:

- 1) Project a calm yet compassionate demeanor
- 2) Be firm not stern
- 3) Limit eye rolling and other sarcastic expressions
- 4) Limit yelling or shouting (unless student safety is in jeopardy)
- 5) Use an open, not closed stance or posture
- 6) Use an opposite intensity response to the student (i.e., as the student behaviors increase in intensity, teacher emotional responses should decrease in intensity)

School districts, administrators and educators should collaborate to create a comprehensive list, which is reviewed regularly. Creating a working definition of each term (e.g., calm and firm) limits the subjectivity of the words.

A final implication for practice is the necessity to create a professional and open community for educators to share their experiences and work through challenging situations. Emotional labor can provide the common language and framework for discussions, allowing teachers to discuss their reactions and work together to improve those reactions when necessary. Participants in the study identified negative feelings of guilt and shame over their reactions. Societal norms placed on teachers hold them to higher standards in their emotional reactions. We

should rethink what it means to be a good teacher. All educators should have a time and place to share emotions as professionals, so they do not express negative emotions in times of frustration with students. Teachers should have an outlet to talk about their feelings and to understand that their underlying feelings are natural. This outlet should be a safe space away from their evaluations and performance reviews. The outlet should be with other professionals that experience similar emotions, so they do not feel isolated. Similarly, the outlet should focus on the educator's personal development and how it is tied to their professional development. Sutton and Wheatly (2003) claimed, "emotions may affect teachers' intrinsic motivation, attributions, efficacy beliefs and goals" (p.338). Day and Leitch (2001) also noted the need for educators to understand how their emotions not only affect themselves, but also impact students. Providing educators a productive outlet for their emotions and training on how to manage their emotions in a positive way minimizes the negative consequences of emotional labor.

5.4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Teaching occurs at the intersection of human emotion and job responsibilities. When job responsibilities include using specific emotional displays to elicit responses from customers, the employee performs emotional labor. This emotion work takes its toll on the employee and unless the education community begins to understand this work it will continue to lead to negative consequences such as burnout and decreased job satisfaction. The intent of this study was to describe the emotional labor teachers experience in one specific aspect of their job, negative teacher-student interactions. The findings indicate that participants perform emotional labor during such instances in the absence of explicit display rules and relevant training.

Teachers are yearning for further training. We must continue to research and define explicit display rules and develop the necessary training on the rules for educators during all aspects of their workday. Teaching requires emotional work and with the appropriate training, this emotional work will lead to positive outcomes for both teachers and students.

APPENDIX A

LETTER OF INVITATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

Dear _____,

Our school was selected as the setting for a research study on the emotional experiences of teachers and teaching assistants. The study has been approved by the University of Pittsburgh and will be completed by Mrs. Amanda Cribbs, a school leader and doctoral student in the department of Administrative and Policy Studies.

We all know that teaching is emotional work. Positive emotions such as joy, pride and hope fill some school days. There are other days however, where teachers experience negative emotions such as annoyance, frustration and anger. Amanda is interested in gaining your perspectives on the emotions you experience during the daily interactions you have with students. The information she collects will inform her dissertation and add to the current body of literature on emotions in education.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and you are able to withdraw at any time. If you wish to participate, you will be asked to complete both a one-minute survey and a 45-minute interview at a day and time that is convenient for you.

The risk for your participation in this study is extremely low. You will be assigned an ID number and pseudonym to ensure confidentiality. With your consent, the interview will be audiotaped and transcribed. Your pseudonym, survey and interview data will be kept under lock and key unless it is being used for analysis or for writing the final report. Amanda will not divulge any identifiable information to anyone, including her research advisor or me. Also, at no time will your answers or refusal to participate affect your employment status or reputation as a professional.

We also understand that your participation in this study will take some of your valuable time. I appreciate your willingness to consider Amanda's request to participate. Please contact Mrs. Cribbs by email (ajc123@pitt.edu) if you wish to participate in her research to set up a day and time for the interview. Amanda looks forward to hearing from you by Monday, May 11th.

Sincerely,

Principal of the School

APPENDIX B

FOLLOW UP LETTER OF INVITATION

Dear _____,

You received a letter last week detailing to study Amanda Cribbs is completing in our school. Her research study is on the emotional experiences of teachers and teaching assistants. Amanda is interested in gaining your perspectives on the emotions you experience during the daily interactions you have with students. The information she collects will inform her dissertation and add to the current body of literature on emotions in education.

She is still interested in hearing from you regarding your potential participation if you haven't already contacted her. Remember that, participation in this study is completely voluntary and you are able to withdraw at any time. If you wish to participate, you will be asked to complete both a one-minute survey and a 45-minute interview at a day and time that is convenient for you.

I appreciate your willingness to consider Amanda's request to participate. Please contact Mrs. Cribbs by email (ajc123@pitt.edu) if you wish to participate in her research to set up a day and time for the interview. Amanda looks forward to hearing from you by Monday, May 11th.

Sincerely,

Principal of the School

APPENDIX C

CONSENT DOCUMENT



University of Pittsburgh

*School of Education
Department of Administrative and Policy Studies*

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Study Title: Emotional Labor and Conflict in Schools: Teacher Perceptions of the Emotional Display Rules Necessary for Negative Teacher-Student Interactions

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Introduction:

This research is being conducted to better understand the emotions teachers experience while interacting with students. Teaching is an emotional profession filled with personal interactions. I am specifically interested in gaining your perspectives on the emotions experienced during one

particularly challenging situation, negative teacher-student interactions. The goal of the study is to add to the body of emotional labor literature and inform future research in education.

Potential participants in this study include the teachers and teaching assistants working in kindergarten through eighth grade in one research site. The participants can be teaching in any content area, physical education, music, art or technology education.

If you agree to participate, your participation includes a one-minute survey and a 45-minute interview session. The initial survey asks you to divulge basic demographic information. Next, with your permission, I will audiotape our interview session. During the interview, you will be asked to describe teacher-student interactions and the emotions you experience during those interactions. You will also be asked about any training you have received on the topic of emotions and teacher-student interactions. There is also a possibility that you will be asked to participate in a short follow-up interview.

All survey and interview responses are confidential. Authorized representatives of the University of Pittsburgh Research Conduct and Compliance Office may review your identifiable research information for the purpose of monitoring the appropriate conduct of this research study. In unusual cases, the investigators may be required to release identifiable information related to your participation in this research study in response to an order from a court of law. If the investigators learn that you or someone with whom you are involved is in serious danger or potential harm, they will need to inform, as required by Pennsylvania law, the appropriate agencies. I also ask that you refrain from using student or colleague names during the interview process to ensure confidentiality. Participants will be given an ID number and pseudonym for the purpose of this study. Interviews will be recorded and transcribed. All interview transcripts, findings and pseudonym identification key will be kept under lock and key or in password-protected files. Following analysis, all audio recordings will be deleted.

Your participation in this research study is voluntary and there are no costs or payments for participation. You may stop completing the survey, refuse to answer any interview questions or withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, any recordings, transcripts, surveys, data gathered or reports generated will be destroyed. Your decision to participate or withdraw from the study will at no time affect your relationship to the University of Pittsburgh, your current or future work as a teacher or teaching assistant or your reputation as a professional. To withdraw from the study after today, please provide me with a written and dated notice of your decision. Due to the nature of this study, there would be no reason for me to withdraw you from this study without your consent.

The risk for this study includes a potential breach of confidentiality, however, strict protocols are in place to minimize that risk. There is no direct or foreseeable benefit associated with your participation in this research study. The questions you will be asked pertain only to the daily duties and interactions necessary in the performance of your job responsibilities. The findings will only be used for the purpose of research and no identifiers will be recorded on the audio file or with the data.

Questions About the Study:

The principal investigator for this study is Amanda Cribbs. If you have any questions or wish to gain a copy of the findings, you may reach Amanda at 412-648-7205. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to talk to someone other than the research team, please call the University of Pittsburgh Human Subjects Protections Advocate toll-free at 866-212-2688.

Consent to Participate:

The above information has been explained to me and all of my current questions have been answered. I understand that I am encouraged to ask questions, voice concerns or complaints about any aspect of this research study during the course of this study, and that such future questions, concerns or complaints will be answered by a qualified individual or by the investigator listed on the first page of this consent document at the telephone number given.

I understand that I may always request that a listed investigator address my questions, concerns or complaints. I understand that I may contact the Human Subjects Protection Advocate of the IRB Office, University of Pittsburgh (1-866-212-2668) to discuss problems, concerns, and questions; obtain information; offer input; or discuss situations that occurred during my participation. By signing this form I agree to participate in this research study. A copy of this consent form will be given to me.

Printed Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

Investigator Certification:

I certify that I have explained the nature and purpose of this research study to the above-named individual(s), and I have discussed the potential benefits and possible risks of study participation. Any questions the individual(s) have about this study have been answered, and we will always be available to address future questions, concerns or complaints as they arise. I further certify that no research component of this protocol was begun until after this consent form was signed.

Amanda Cribbs

Principal Investigator

Signature of Investigator

Date

APPENDIX D

SURVEY

Study Title: Emotional Labor and Conflict in Schools: Teacher Perceptions of the Emotional Display Rules Used in Negative Teacher-Student Interactions

Survey Questions:

1. What is your gender?

Male
Female

2. What is your current position at this school?

Choose One Field of Specialization:

Special Education Teacher
General Education Teacher
Specialist

Choose One Content Area:

Math	Music
Science	Physical Education
Literacy	Art/Design Education
Cultural Literacy	Technology
Environmental Literacy	Gifted Support

3. How many years have you worked for your current employer?

4. How long have you been in the field of education?

1-5 years

5-10 years

10-15 years

15-20 years

over 20 years

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Study Title: Emotional Labor and Conflict in Schools: Teacher Perceptions of the Emotional Display Rules Used in Negative Teacher-Student Interactions

Interview Script

Allow time for participants to read and sign the consent form. Once signed, put the form aside and begin the tape.

We all know that teaching can be emotional work. There are times where we feel both positive and negative emotions during our day. What I'm interested in are the times when we experience strong negative feelings. These can be in the classroom, the hallway or while on duty in the cafeteria. Can you think of any times when you have had strong negative feelings? *If necessary:* Can you describe the experience?

Allow participants time to answer.

Thank you, your insights into your experiences are valuable to this study.

Pause

At some point all teachers experience an interaction with a student or group of students that results in negative emotions. This could be during times of negative conflict, aggression or even during an argument. Can you think of a recent event where you had a negative interaction with a student? *If necessary:* Can you describe the experience?

Allow participants time to answer.

How did you feel during that event? *If necessary:* Can you describe the emotions you felt?

Allow participants time to answer. If no negative emotions are described, point to the provided emotion chart and ask: Did you happen to feel any of the negative emotions on this list? Allow more time for participants to respond.

Thank you, it seems like you experienced a wide range of emotions. *Pause* What kinds of facial expressions do you think were showing while you experienced the emotions?

Allow participants time to answer.

How would you describe your body language or tone of voice?

Thank you, this is such helpful information. Now, can you think of another example?

Allow participants time to answer.

What did you feel during this example? *If needed, have the participant use the emotion chart.*

What do you think was visible this time?

Allow participants time to answer

How about your body language or tone of voice?

Continue asking for examples, emotions felt and emotions shown until 3 or 4 are fully explained.

Thank you for sharing all of those examples. The details you provided and emotions felt and expressed are invaluable to this study.

Pause

Something else I am interested in is the training you've received on emotions or emotion management.

For example, can you describe any pre-service training you received? *If necessary prompt with examples of pre-service training as: college courses, textbook or articles, specific assignments given etc. Allow participants time to answer.*

What about professional development? Can you describe any relevant sessions from either your current or former employers?

Allow participants time to answer.

Sometimes we learn about a given topic on our own. Have you ever done any research or reading on emotions or emotion management?

Allow participants time to answer.

I understand that this is a topic that you might not have had much training on or done research for. After talking today, how do you think an understanding of the emotions teachers experience during negative teacher-student interactions might influence your work?

Allow participants time to answer.

In what ways can schools assist you in learning about these emotions?

Allow participants time to answer.

Thank you for all of your valuable insights today and willingness to participate in both the survey and interview. Do you have any questions for me before we wrap up our time together? *Allow time for questions and answers.* If you have any future questions, please don't hesitate to use the contact information on your consent form to contact either myself or someone at the University. Thank you again and have a wonderful rest of your day.

APPENDIX F

Table F11 *Emotion Chart Used by Participants During Interviews*

Examples of Emotions		
Acceptance	Curiosity	Love
Admiration	Depressed	Liking
Adventurous	Disapproval	Nostalgia
Affectionate	Disgusted	Optimism
Afraid	Dissatisfied	Pensive
Aggressive	Distracted	Pity
Amazed	Embarrassed	Rage
Angry	Envious	Remorse
Annoyed	Fearful	Sadness
Anticipation	Frustrated	Serenity
Anxious	Grief	Shame
Apprehensive	Guilt	Surprise
Awe	Hostile	Terror
Boredom	Indignant	Trusting
Cheerful	Jealous	Uncertain
Compassion	Joyful	Vigilance
Contempt	Loathing	

The Emotion Chart is adapted from the following sources:

Hochschild, A. R. (2012). *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press (Original work published 1983).

Plutchik, R. (2001). The nature of emotions. *American Scientist*, 89(4), 344-350.

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